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ABSTRACT

Papers in this volume include the following: "The Theoretical Framework of Jim Cummins: A Review and Critique"; "The Development of Bilingual Behavior"; "Effective Schools Research and Language Instruction Programs"; "Reading and Writing Instruction in Three Bilingual Education Programs in Connecticut"; "Instructional Discourse in an Effective Kindergarten Classroom: A Case Study"; "Ecobehavioral Variables within a Classroom with Limited-English Proficient Students"; "Creative Reading: A Relevant Methodology for Language Minority Children"; "Teachers' Perceptions of Errors in Second Language Learning and Acquisition"; "Testing the Transfer Paradigm in Second Language Learning: The Case of Spelling Skills"; "Conducting and Evaluating Oral Tests in the Second Language Classroom"; "The Competency Testing Mine Field: Validation, Legal and Ethical Issues with Implications for Minorities"; "How Can We Meet All Their Needs? Incorporating Education for the Gifted and Talented in the Multicultural Classroom"; "Comparisons of Acculturation and Education Characteristics of Referred and Non-Referred Culturally and Linguistically Different Children"; "'It's Only Half of Me.' The Interracial Child: The Need for Balance"; "School Holding Power in the U.S."; "Retention of the Latino University Student: Affirmative Action at CSULB"; "Some Research-Based Issues and Recommendations Expressed at the Seminario Internacional Sobre la Educacion Bilingue"; "Culture and the French Canadian: A Question of Survival"; "Cultural Differences or Disability: Redefining the Experience of Four Hmong Students"; and "Hmong Refugees and Educational Policy." (MSE)

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Lilliam M. Malave, Buffalo
April 1st, 1988

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF JIM CUMMINS A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

David P. Baral

In recent years, the theoretical framework of Jim Cummins has been widely discussed by bilingual educators. This paper traces the evolution of Cummins' theory and examines the criticisms which have been raised against it. The first part of the paper discusses the major elements of Cummins' theory of bilingual proficiency: the threshold hypothesis, the developmental interdependence hypothesis, and the BICS/CALP dichotomy. Cummins' use of sociocultural variables, such as "bicultural ambivalence," and his recent analysis of the empowerment of minority students are then considered. The paper concludes with a general summation of Cummins' work. Although critics note Cummins' lack of attention to sociocultural factors influencing second language learning, it is argued that he has made major contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education.

Over the past seven years Jim Cummins has published a series of influential papers dealing with the language proficiency of bilingual students (Cummins, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1986). Cummins' work has been widely discussed by bilingual educators, and it is now central to any discussion of theory in bilingual education (see California State Department of Education, 1981).

Several factors have influenced the growth and development of the theory. First, Cummins has attempted to interpret and integrate disparate empirical findings into his theoretical framework. Second, he has taken up such problematic practical concerns as language testing and entry/exit criteria for bilingual programs. Finally, Cummins has responded to a number of criticisms of his earlier formulations (See Baral, 1980; Edelsky et al, 1983; Rivera, 1984). As a result of this evolutionary process, the theory has become richer and more complex. However, certain key concepts in the early versions of the theory (i.e. semilingualism and the BICS/CALP distinction) are no longer employed by the author, although they are still being used by bilingual education practitioners.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the evolution of Cummins' theoretical framework and to examine some of the criticisms which have been raised against it. The paper begins with a discussion of the best-known aspects of Cummins' work: his theory of bilingual proficiency. This section follows the sequence of recent statements by the author (Cummins, 1984a,

1984b) concerning the evolution of his theory. Subsequent sections of the paper explore the sociocultural aspects of Cummins' theoretical framework. The paper concludes with a general summation of Cummins' contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual instruction.

Linguistic Interdependence of Bilingual Children

Cummins' theory initially resulted from his analysis of research on students who studied in academic programs taught in a language different from the language spoken in the home. By the mid-1970's, studies of students experiencing a "home-school language shift" had produced conflicting results. On the one hand, the failure of language minority students, when schooled in the dominant language of the country, had been documented in a large number of studies. There was substantial evidence concerning the low achievement of these students in the United States (Coleman et al, 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975) in Latin America (Modiano, 1973; Rubin, 1968; Dillworth and Stark, 1975), and in Europe (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976; Rist, 1979). However, the opposite effects had been observed in the French-language immersion programs in Canada. Students in these programs attained high levels of achievement when schooled in a second language, without any negative effects on the development of their first language (see Swain, 1974, for review).

To account for the different effects of schooling in a second language, Lambert (1977) had proposed a sociocultural explanation. He argued that immersion students were adding a socially relevant language of high prestige (French) which would not replace their home language (English). Lambert described the bilingualism of immersion students as "additive" and compared it with "a more "subtractive" form experienced by many ethnic groups who, because of national educational policies and social pressures of various sorts, are forced to put aside their ethnic language for a national language. Their degree of bilingualism at any time would be likely to reflect some state in the subtraction of their ethnic language and the associated culture, and their replacement with another" (Lambert, 1977, pp. 18-19).

Lambert and others (Lambert, 1977; Cohen, 1976; Swain, 1978) have used the term "submersion" to describe the school experiences of language minority students and have contrasted these experiences with the enrichment form of bilingual instruction offered to members of the dominant,

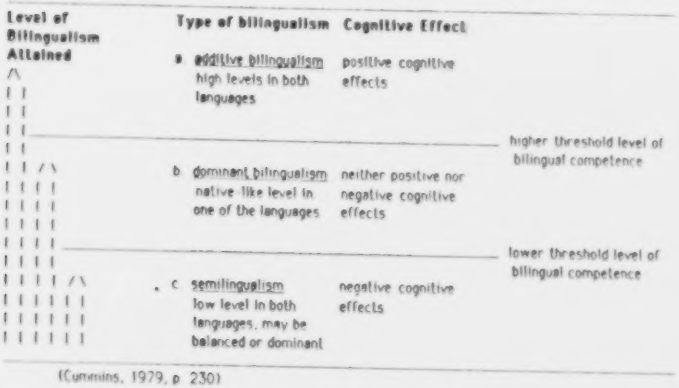
English-speaking group in Canada through the immersion programs.

In contrast to Lambert's sociocultural analysis, Cummins proposed a linguistic explanation to account for the different effects of immersion and submersion experiences. He summarized this explanation in two postulates: the threshold hypothesis and the interdependence hypothesis.

Threshold Hypothesis

Cummins (1979, p. 229) argued that there are threshold levels of linguistic competence in the home language and in the second language "which bilingual children must attain in order to avoid cognitive deficits and to allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence their cognitive growth." Based on studies of Finnish immigrant students in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976), Cummins proposed a lower and a higher threshold level (see Figure I). Below the lower threshold level, the bilingual child's ability to interact with his or her educational environment would be severely restricted. Following the Scandinavian researchers, Cummins described the linguistic competence of these children as "semilingualism" or "double semilingualism" to indicate their low level of proficiency in both languages.

FIGURE I
Cognitive Effects of Different Types of Bilingualism


Level of Bilingualism Attained
Type of bilingualism
Cognitive Effect
a. additive bilingualism high levels in both languages
positive cognitive effects
higher threshold level of bilingual competence
b. dominant bilingualism native-like level in one of the languages
neither positive nor negative cognitive effects
lower threshold level of bilingual competence
c. semilingualism low level in both languages, may be balanced or dominant
negative cognitive effects

(Cummins, 1979, p. 230)

The threshold hypothesis implies that children whose linguistic proficiency is below the lower level will experience serious academic difficulties as they progress through the elementary school and encounter increasing cognitive demands which they cannot meet with the limited linguistic repertoire at their command. Linguistic competence below the lower threshold level could account for the poor academic performance of language minority students who are "submersed" in dominant language programs.

Cummins also proposed a higher threshold of linguistic competence, above which the additive forms of bilingualism would become operative, with substantial cognitive benefits for the bilingual child. Linguistic competence above the higher threshold level could explain the performance of children in immersion programs.

Between the two threshold levels is a range in which bilingualism is unbalanced. Students who fall within this range have full command of one language, but are not fully proficient in the second language. This form of unbalanced bilingualism has neither positive nor negative cognitive consequences for the individual. It seems likely that most bilinguals fall into this intermediate category.

Criticisms of "Semilingualism"

Several authors have questioned the use of the term "semilingualism" or "double semilingualism" to describe the linguistic competence of some bilingual children (see Baral, 1980; Edelsky et al., 1983). For example, Baral (1980) pointed out the pejorative connotations of this term, its questionable standing as a linguistic descriptor, and the cultural deprivation model within which it appeared to be embedded.

The term "semilingualism" was originally borrowed from researchers who studied the academic performance of Finnish immigrant students in Sweden (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). However, the Scandinavian researchers employed the term within a conflict theory framework, arguing that semilingualism functions "...as a mediating variable when society reproduces the class structure, and along with it, the vocational structure of the suppressed minorities..." (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1971, p. 1). Cummins, on the other hand, gave the term "semilingualism" a cognitive/linguistic interpretation by arguing that some bilingual children have a reduced level of vocabulary-concept knowledge, metalinguistic

insights, and the ability to process decontextualized language (see Cummins, 1979).

Edelsky et al., (1983, p. 11) argued that Cummins' use of "the term semilingualism fits well into popular stereotypes about 'alingual' children and children 'who don't know English and don't know Spanish either'...", and Baral (1980) commented that this aspect of Cummins' theory appeared to conceptualize bilingualism as a "disease of the poor" (Fishman, 1976).

Cummins and Swain (1983) responded vigorously to these criticisms. Among other things, they pointed out that the linguistic aspects of the theory were embedded in a broader interaction framework which included sociocultural factors (see below), and that the theory itself had evolved. However, by 1983 Cummins no longer used the term "semilingual" and had substituted instead the designation "limited bilingualism."

In addition to the threshold hypothesis, Cummins also proposed a second hypothesis which is concerned with the functional relationship between levels of proficiency in the home language (L1) and the second language (L2).

Interdependence Hypothesis

The first version of the interdependence hypothesis was almost exclusively linguistic in character: "the level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins" (Cummins, 1979, p. 233).

Cummins used this hypothesis to explain the varying effects of instruction in a second language on different groups of students. He argued that middle-class students in immersion programs typically possess well developed skills in the home language, and therefore are more likely to attain proficiency in a second language through immersion education, without losing ground in their first language. In contrast, Cummins argued that language minority students may be more sensitive to the language of instruction because certain aspects of the L1 remain underdeveloped, and he concluded that "low SES minority language students may be more dependent on the school to provide prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy skills" (Cummins, 1979, p. 249). Although this argument is clearly linguistic in nature, it is interesting to note the appearance of social class factors to

explain the success or failure of students in second language programs.

In a later paper Cummins (1984 a) revised the interdependence hypothesis to stress the transfer of linguistic skills across languages and the influence of sociolinguistic and affective factors. A recent statement of this principle affirms that: "To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficincy in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly" (p. 143).

Aspects of Language Proficiency

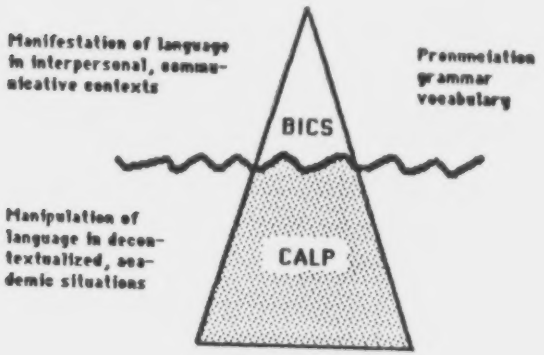
In one of his early papers, Cummins (1979) made a distinction between "surface fluency" and the more academically- related aspects of linguistic competence which was to play a central role in the development of his theory. This distinction was later refined through the elaboration of the BICS/CALP dichotomy, and was finally replaced by a more complex, two dimensional model of language proficiency.

BICS and CALP

At the time that Cummins theory was becoming better known in the United States (the late 1970's and early 1980's), there was an intense public debate concerning the desirability of exiting of children from bilingual programs. In California this debate centered on the issue of "reclassification criteria" which were used to determine whether a student was "ready" to be exited from a bilingual program. Cummins originally developed the BICS/CALP distinction to summarize some of the empirical data which were relevant to the question of when to exit children from bilingual programs (see Cummins, 1983, p. 35).

Cummins (1980, p. 28) defined CALP as "cognitive/academic language proficiency,... the dimension of language proficiency which is related to literacy skills," and BICS as the "cognitively undemanding manifestations of language proficiency in interpersonal situations." The BICS/CALP dichotomy can be presented diagrammatically with reference to an iceberg model. Using this model, the "visible" aspects of language proficiency are pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. The ability to manipulate language in decontextualized situations, primarily literacy, is portrayed as being "below the surface" (see Figure II).

FIGURE II
The "Iceberg" representation of language proficiency



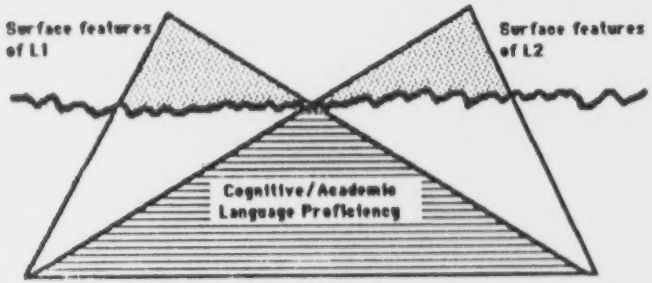
(Cummins, 1980, p. 2)

Cummins (1980) used the iceberg model to describe both the first and second language acquisition processes. In first language acquisition, he argued, Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) develop largely as a result of maturation, reach a plateau soon after the child enters school, and are not related to academic achievement. In contrast, Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) continues to develop throughout the school years, following the general curve for cognitive development, and is highly related to academic success or failure.

The same model can be applied to second language learning and to the issue of exiting children from bilingual programs. Cummins (1980) argued that the child's skill in using L2 in interpersonal situations (BICS) and measures of L2 proficiency in BICS tell us very little about the potential success of the child in L2 academic situations which require the ability to manipulate language in decontextualized situations (CALP). One implication of this argument is that a policy of exiting children from bilingual programs based solely on measures of interpersonal language proficiency may be detrimental to the ultimate success of the child in second language academic programs. Cummins also used the BICS/CALP dichotomy to illustrate his theory of the linguistic interdependence of bilingual children. By expanding the iceberg model to a "dual iceberg model," he showed visually

the crosslingual aspects of bilingual proficiency and those features which were specific to each language (see Figure III).

FIGURE III
The "dual iceberg" representation of Bilingual Proficiency



(Cummins, 1980, p. 36)

Cummins (1980) argued that the cognitive/academic aspects of language proficiency in L1 and L2 overlap to a large extent, in spite of important differences in the surface features of each language. One implication of this analysis is that literacy skills can be stimulated by instruction in either language, and therefore time spent in L1 instruction is not time lost for the development of L2, as critics of bilingual education would contend.

Criticisms of BICS and CALP

Many writers have questioned Cummins' use of a dichotomy to contrast the interpersonal and academic aspects of language usage (see Edelsky et al. (1973) and the various papers in Rivera [1941]). In part, criticisms of the BICS/CALP distinction reflected a concern for the growing popularity of the

terms and their possible misuse by bilingual practitioners and others. Spolsky (1984) compared Cummins' use of the terms BICS and CALP to the work of Basil Bernstein. Cummins, he concluded, "fell into the same trap: a useful observation of the existence of different styles was vitiated by a readiness to apply labels, and these labels set up a false dichotomy that was itself socially dangerous" (p. 43). Indeed, Cummins and Swain (1983, p. 36) recognized these dangers and agreed that "the acronyms had the potential to take on a life of their own and risked misinterpretation." However, there were also more fundamental concerns about the meaning of the two terms.

For example, Wald (1984) strongly questioned the assertion that interpersonal language skills (BICS) are unrelated to academic achievement. He pointed out that sociolinguistic studies have shown that "the match of language form and function in everyday situations to the system required in the classroom is very much involved in the outcome of academic achievement." He concluded that cross-linguistic miscommunication influences "the morale of the students in interaction with the teacher [and shapes] the teacher's expectations of the students' capabilities..."(p. 59).

On the other side of the dichotomy, it has proven difficult to demonstrate that CALP is something more than test scores and that it can be distinguished from general ability or measures of literacy. Troike (1984) argued that CALP is closely related to Oller's construct of general language proficiency which is itself related to verbal IQ measures, and therefore he concluded that the CALP construct could be merely a "vacuous tautology." Other writers invoked the principle of parsimony. For example, Wald (1984, p. 60) proposed that "it would be easier to understand CALP as literacy skills, rather than as some more profound psychological construct involving some less well understood form of cognition not attributable to illiterates."

Cummins has responded to these criticisms in two ways. First, Cummins and Swain (1984) pointed out that the BICS/CALP distinction has proved useful to practitioners seeking to understand research results and to deal with public criticism of bilingual education. Second, the distinction itself has been subsumed by a more general formulation of the theory of language proficiency. Cummins' most recent papers no longer make the distinction between BICS and CALP but rather conceptualize language proficiency with reference to the dimensions of contextual support and cognitive complexity.

Contextual Support and Cognitive Involvement.

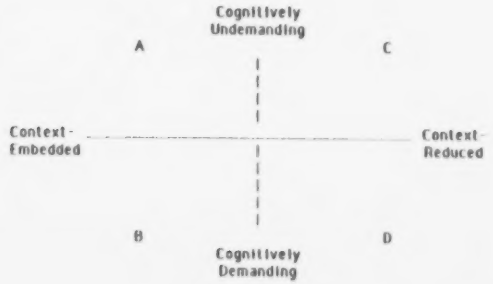
The first dimension is concerned with the degree of contextual support for communication. This dimension can be placed on a continuum ranging from "context embedded" to "context reduced". Cummins (1981) commented that: "In context- embedded communication the participants can actively negotiate meaning (e.g., by providing feedback that the message has not been understood) and the language is supported by a wide range of meaningful paralinguistic (gestures, intonation, etc.) and situational cues; context-reduced communication, on the other hand, relies primarily on linguistic cues to meaning and may, in some cases, involve suspending knowledge of the "real" world in order to interpret (or manipulate) the logic of communication appropriately" (p.11).

Communication situations can be placed at some point on this dimension. An example of progression from context-embedded communication to context-reduced would be: conversation with a friend, speaking in class, an informal letter, and reading a complicated article in a new field.

The second dimension involves the degree of cognitive complexity in the communication situation: the degree to which the communication task actually requires the participant to process new information. Cummins (1981, pp. 12-13) characterized the cognitive complexity of a communication situation in terms of "the amount of information that must be processed simultaneously or in close succession by the individual in order to carry out the activity." Communication situations vary in complexity, which is partly due to the characteristics of the learner. As linguistic skills are mastered, they move toward the undemanding side of the dimension. Thus this dimension captures some aspects of the developmental process of second language learning.

These two dimensions are represented graphically in Figure IV.

FIGURE IV
The range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in communicative activities



(Cummins, 1981, p. 12)

Although the previous dichotomy between BICS and CALP has been replaced by the two continua, it is clear that the basic distinction between academic and interpersonal aspects of language are still present in the new formulation. In general, quadrant A corresponds to BICS and quadrant D to CALP.

Cummins and Swain (1983, p. 37) discussed some instructional implications of the latest model of language proficiency and concluded that "a major pedagogical principle for both L1 and L2 teaching is that language skills in context- reduced situations can be most successfully developed on the basis of initial instruction which maximizes the degree of context-embeddedness, i.e. the range of cues to meaning."

Sociocultural and Affective Factors

Previous sections dealing with the linguistic aspects of Cummins' theory of bilingual proficiency have noted the appearance of non-linguistic factors, even in discussions which are primarily linguistic in nature. These factors must now be considered.

In several papers Cummins (1980, 1981, 1982) has discussed sociocultural and affective factors influencing second language learning. He has pointed out that purely linguistic arguments cannot explain why certain

minority groups fail when experiencing a second language learning situation in school, while other groups succeed. Cummins (1980, p. 47) argued that minority groups which have disproportionately high failure rates in school may experience "bicultural ambivalence." They may develop ambivalent or hostile relations toward the dominant social group and become insecure about their own language and culture. These feelings of ambivalence and insecurity, he claimed, may result in low motivation to succeed in school and to maintain L1. Teachers may also contribute to this pattern of school failure through lowered expectations or hostility toward the cultural background of the student.

Cummins (1979) pointed out that a motivational explanation provides an alternative to linguistic explanations of the relative success of older immigrants in L2 schools, when compared to the performance of younger immigrants. In most of his papers, Cummins explains the success of older students with reference to schooling in their home land which stimulated CALP development in L1, and the resulting transfer of literacy skills from L1 to L2. A motivational explanation, however, would point out that older immigrant students may not internalize the feelings of "bicultural ambivalence", or experience the low expectations of teachers. Therefore, they may be more receptive to learning a second language and make more rapid academic progress in spite or their limited exposure to L2.

He also suggested that this motivational argument can be applied to bilingual programs: "a major reason why bilingual education is successful in helping to reverse minority students' pattern of academic failure is that by validating the cultural identity of the students (as well as the community), it reduces their ambivalence towards the majority language and culture" (Cummins, 1982, p. 12).

Criticisms of Cummins' Use of Sociocultural Factors

The most common criticism of Cummins' theory is his treatment of sociocultural factors (see all papers in Rivera [1984]). For example, Genesee (1984) claimed that Cummins recognizes the influence of social factors on the development of academic language proficiency but pays little attention to these factors in his papers. Genesee also pointed out that the high school failure rate of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds suggests the limitations of a purely linguistic analysis. Troike (1984) went even further in criticizing the linguistic focus of Cummins explanations, and he concluded that "...social and cultural factors may be more powerful than purely linguistic

factors in influencing educational achievement, and, indeed, that the linguistic factors may be simply a second or third order reflection of the social context of schooling" (p. 49).

Wald (1984, p. 59) argued that Cummins theoretical framework reflects the basic isolation of psychological theories from sociolinguistic and ethnographic research. As an example of what is not considered by Cummins' theory, Wald cited the case of the nonstandard and low prestige varieties of language spoken by bilingual students. Wald (1984, p. 57) concluded that "...stigma and subtler forms of negative evaluation of minority students' linguistic behavior have social consequences in student-teacher and student-test interaction that lead to depressed academic achievement, an aggravated classroom situation, truancy, and possible dropping out of school at an early age."

Cummins' response to these criticisms has been to point out that his interaction model of bilingual education (Cummins, 1979) includes some sociocultural factors, as does his discussion of "bicultural ambivalence" (see above). Cummins has always claimed that the linguistic aspects of his theory should be considered as intervening variables which mediate the effects more fundamental sociocultural processes (Cummins, 1979, 1984b). Nonetheless, sociocultural factors have not played a central role in his theory, as his critics suggest. However, a recent paper on the empowerment of minority students (Cummins, 1986) is primarily concerned with these factors.

Empowering Minority Students

Cummins' basic contention in this paper is that students from minority groups are "empowered" or "disabled" in school as a result of their interactions with educators. If they are empowered, they "develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically" (Cummins, 1986, p. 23). Students who are disabled by their school experiences do not develop the confidence to succeed. Thus, Cummins argues, relationships in school tend to mirror relationships in society at large, with positive or negative consequences for minority students. The major elements of his argument are presented in Figure V.

FIGURE V
Empowerment of minority students:
A theoretical framework

According to Cummins, there are four areas which are crucial to the success of minority students: (1) cultural/linguistic incorporation, (2) community participation, (3) pedagogy, and (4) assessment. In discussing each area he identifies potential role definitions by educators which are stated as pairs of polar opposites (see Figure V).

Under the general heading of cultural/linguistic incorporation, Cummins (1986, p. 25) comments that "educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to their students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture." He points out that actually using the primary language for instruction is not the main issue, but rather the attitudes which educators demonstrate toward that language and toward the children's home cultural traditions.

Community participation in programs for minority students is required by law, but as Cummins (1986) points out, parent advisory committees can be manipulated by school personnel. Cummins cites evidence (Tizard, Schofield, & Hewison, 1982) which shows that a collaborative relationship between educators and parents can lead to enhanced student performance. He concludes by affirming that "teachers operating at the collaborative end of

the continuum actively encourage minority parents to participate in promoting their cildren's academic progress both in the home and through involvement in classroom activities... Teachers with an exclusionary orientation, on the other hand, tend to regard teaching as their job and are likely to view collaboration with minority parents as either irrelevant or detrimental to children's progress" (Cummins, 1986, p. 27).

In discussing pedagogical orientation, Cummins (1986, p28) contrasts the transmission model of education with the reciprocal model of instruction. The transmission model, which characterizes much of American education, is similar to Freire's "banking" model (see Freire 1970, 1973). For language minority students, this model has often produced instruction directed toward identified weaknesses, drill and practice, and over-correction of errors by teachers. The reciprocal model which Cummins espouses places more emphasis on student responsibility for learning, emphasizes meaningful use of oral and written language for communication purposes, and, in general, stresses instruction directed toward higher order thinking skills.

Cummins argues that traditional assessment techniques have been primarily used to identify the "problems" of minority students, based on the assumption that the cause of their school failure is internal. In contrast to this view of assessment as "legitimation", Cummins (1986) proposes an "advocacy" role for assessment. It "locates the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, in the reflection of these power relations between schools and communities, and in the mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms" (p. 30).

Conclusions

Jim Cummins' theoretical framework has come to play an important role in bilingual education. Indeed, it is now difficult to discuss the field without reference to his work. This final section summarizes Cummins' contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education.

Cummins' theory has helped to clarify thinking about instructional practices in bilingual education. As an example, bilingual education practitioners have always known that home language instruction was important, but L1 instruction was initially justified with reference to the "linguistic mismatch theory." Cummins not only showed why the idea of

linguistic mismatch was a weak rational for bilingual education, but he also provided, through the threshold hypothesis and the linguistic interdependence hypothesis, a much stronger justification for instruction in two languages. His theory of bilingual proficiency has helped practitioners to articulate a rationale for bilingual instruction and respond to criticisms of the field.

Cummins' theory has also provided a convenient framework within which to analyze conflicting research findings. As an example, the theory has been used to integrate the results of studies which show that the process of becoming bilingual can have either positive or negative effects, and that instruction in a second language can have different effects on different groups of students. This synthesis of research findings has helped bilingual education practitioners respond to critics who would conclude, from the results of the Canadian immersion programs, that language minority students in this country should receive the same instruction as English speaking students.

The theoretical framework has also helped to clarify issues concerning the exiting of children from bilingual programs. Articles in the popular press, and many professional educators, have argued that "children should be exited from bilingual programs as soon as possible so that they can learn English." Cummins' analysis of the academic and interpersonal aspects of language proficiency has helped to demonstrate that these popular arguments are unsound and to give support to the idea that long- term bilingual programs may be more successful than short-term interventions.

The evolution of the theoretical framework over the years has been the subject of some discussion in this paper. From the standpoint of theory development in the social sciences, this evolutionary process is quite normal. As theories are proposed and tested, it is common for simplistic dichotomies to be replaced with continua, and ultimately to be subsumed in more complicated formulations. However, the evolution of Cummins' theory presents some dangers for practitioners in the field. Earlier versions of his theory of bilingual proficiency are still in circulation, and many educators still speak of "semilingual" children and children with "BICS and CALPs," even though the author has abandoned the use of these terms.

Cummins' relative neglect of sociocultural factors involved in second language learning and his emphasis on linguistic factors has been noted by all critics of his theory. Cummins' recent discussion of student empowerment has clearly strengthened the sociocultural aspects of the theory, and this may

answer some of his critics. However, the linkages between this analysis of empowerment and Cummins' previous discussions of linguistic interdependence are still not clearly established.

Cummins' contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education are considerable. If his theory is not equally successful in explaining all aspects of learning a second language, we should not be surprised, given the diversity of factors which can influence second language instructional programs. A complete catalog of these factors would have to include national educational policies, structural relationships between groups in multicultural societies, the diversity of linguistic and cultural groups for which bilingual instruction is being provided, and the wide variety of instructional treatments which fall under the general rubric of bilingual instruction.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL BEHAVIOR: LANGUAGE CHOICE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Alvino E. Fantini

All speakers alter language stylistically in response to particular social circumstances at the moment of speech. Bilingual speakers additionally switch codes. Language differentiation and code switching in fact are fundamental to behaving bilingually. This article examines how language differentiation and code switching developed in the young child exposed to two languages. Linguistic separation is triggered by various factors in the social environment which cue the speaker. In the young child, awareness of the factors which call for one language or another develops gradually over time as the child's social world expands. Moreover, these factors emerge in order of significance as perceived by the child. The development of bilingual behavior is clearly a socio-linguistic phenomenon in which the child learns not only two linguistic systems, but also the circumstances in which to use each.

Speakers alter language in various ways in relation to the particular social circumstances at the moment of speech. Such alterations are fairly consistent and allow us to posit, therefore, the existence of speech styles or registers. Bilingual speakers have an additional option - that of switching codes in addition to shifting styles within each code. Bilingual speakers can switch from one language to another in addition to modifying styles in the same manner as monolingual speakers switch language styles.

Just as styles in language are sensitive responses to varying factors in the social context, so too is code switching. Language choice in the speech of bilinguals is not arbitrary nor erratic behavior, but directly related to identifiable social factors. Most sociolinguistic research examining this interrelationship, however, has focused on adult speakers. We know less about how such linguistic and social competence develops over time within the bilingual speaker.

This paper therefore, investigates three aspects of developing bilingualism: 1) code switching as integral to all bilingual behavior, with emphasis on its early acquisition; 2) identification of social factors which influence the child's ability to differentiate languages and to make appropriate choices; and 3) hierarchical organization of social factors, based on their order or emergence and relative impact in affecting language choice. These issues are discussed in light of data compiled during a longitudinal study conducted over a ten year period of two children-Mario and

Carla-raised bilingually in Spanish and English.

Bilingual Behavior is Code Switching Behavior

From the many attempts to examine bilingualism, including an extensive work by Baetens-Beardsmore (1982), one principle stands out: A minimal condition for bilingual behavior is the ability to code switch, that is, to be able to distinguish and use one linguistic set apart from another, at different moments in time, and as appropriate to the circumstance. In other words, the speaker must be able to operate within monolingual constraints at times, even though there may be long interludes of language mixing. Dual language inputs into the child's repertoire does not of itself constitute bilingualism, until the child becomes aware that they are differentiated sets. The AB language user (as opposed to the A-B user), who never separates language A from language B in a differentiated manner - at the appropriate moment as defined by the context - theoretically is not a functioning bilingual. To underscore this point, it is noted that bilingual "profiles" in common use, always include language alternation among the various criteria for consideration.

Aspects of a Bilingual Profile

A list of aspect that influence language choice must include the following:

- number of languages used
- types of languages used (i.e., their linguistic relation)
- function (i.e., the conditions of learning and language use)
- degree of proficiency in each language and in the various skill areas (comprehension, speaking, reading, writing)
- alternation (i.e., patterns and degree of code switching)
- interaction (i.e., the ways the languages affect each other interference and transference)

Bilingualism as a phenomenon, then, presumes, an ability to switch codes; conversely, code switching presumes the existence of at least two (but possibly more) languages. A second condition implicit in bilingual ability is awareness of the social conditions which determine the selection of one or the other code, and therefore requires speakers to make choices. Most children simultaneously exposed to two languages from birth demonstrate

these abilities early on. For example, Mario - one of the children examined in this study - displayed active use of Spanish at 1;4, and English at 2;6. From the onset of the second tongue, he faced the challenge of sorting linguistic sets. In each situation - as with all children exposed to two or more languages - he was required to make the right language choice - given the persons, the time and place of the speech event. Although this seems an inordinate task for very young children, mixing of codes - in this case, Spanish and English, limited as they were at this stage of development - occurred for only a very brief period of time.

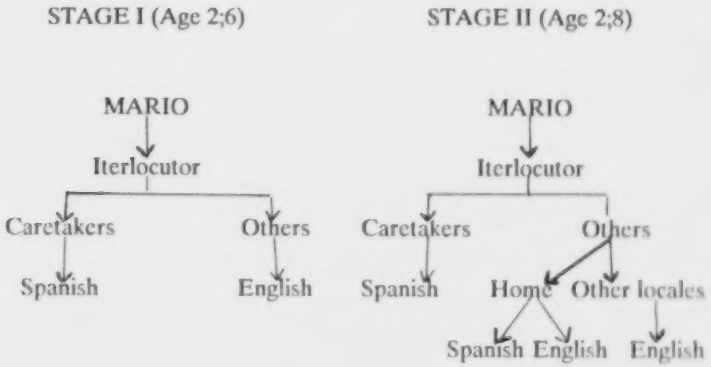
The Development of Code Switching Patterns

Signs of switching were observed within a few days after the child's first utterances in English which occurred while visiting grandparents and other relatives. During that visit Mario acquired many new lexical items and almost immediately began to sort them into sets - one for use with parents, the other for use with relatives. The circumstances were clearly delineated - of the ten to twelve people with whom the child interacted, some used one lexical variant, others used another. In this early incident, appropriate code choice was sensitive primarily to the interlocutor.

During the next two months the child's world was essentially the home and nursery. At home, Spanish was the medium; at the nursery, it was English. Again situations for language use were clear, marked this time by place (or setting) in addition to interlocutors. During this time of rapid language development, some mixing of codes occurred. However, transfer occurred primarily in only one direction - from English to Spanish. At home, Mario showed an inclination to draw on words and expressions learned at the nursery; on the other hand he displayed no similar inclination to use Spanish at the nursery. Utterances the child carried into the home were primarily commands, salutations, demonstratives, and various expressive interjections common to children his age, such as "unhuh, yuk", and "ouch". In each setting, nonetheless, an element of choice was present.

During this time of limited language expression, Mario apparently utilized linguistic resources available to him from both codes, knowing his parents understood both (language transference). However, when the situation demanded it, as at the nursery, he also showed he was capable of constraining himself to only one language without borrowing (avoiding interference). An incident at a shopping mall at age 2;9 confirmed his ability to differentiate codes and to make appropriate choices. While shopping, he

met a little girl with whom he used only English, despite his still limited proficiency and the fact that he was far more conversant in Spanish. The incident is also significant because it involved potential variables (interlocutors and setting) affecting language choice, in contrast with the visit to relatives cited above, where the setting was constant and the interlocutor was the single variable affecting choice. This development may be pictured as follows:



The child's increasing awareness of setting as a new variable affecting language choice is reflected in Stage II. Public settings almost uniformly called for the use of English, whereas the home continued to permit a choice, especially when the interlocutor was not the child's caretakers. Beyond 3;0, Mario exhibited clear and consistent separation of codes, and interlocutor and setting figured as the primary determinants in their selection.

As the child's world expanded, including his interaction with other individuals under still different circumstances, additional factors complicated the child's selection beyond those developments of Stage II. Sociolinguistic studies have identified some common variables which affect code switching in adults, viz: participants or interlocutors, setting, topic of discourse, the form of communication, and the function or norm of the interaction (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). But by 5;0, factors affecting the choice of both children under study were still relatively few. Interlocutor and setting were clearly early determinants; however, many attributes of the interlocutors (e.g., factors such as age, sex and occupation) were not significant to the child for these to become determinants as yet. Two aspects of interlocutors, however, were: physical characteristics and the degree of language proficiency exhibited by the other speaker. By age ten, all of the variables cited above (and common for adults) prevailed, with one notable exception: topic. This variable, usually cited as one influencing code switching in adult bilinguals still had no visible effects on the children's language selection until nearly the tenth year. As Mario and Carla's language developed along with their knowledge about increasingly specialized areas of conversation (greatly influenced through education solely in English), topical switches became more common. In fact, it became increasingly artificial, for example, to discuss naturally in Spanish a topic such as the Industrial Revolution in England and France since this was not the language through which the issue had been introduced. And parental efforts to constrain the children to review schoolwork about the Industrial Revolution in their home language produced extraordinary amounts of interference and considerable frustration.

Social Determinants and Language Choice

A review of speech acts in the children's diaries reveals the following variables affecting language choice as significant during the first ten years: participant, setting, function, the form of the act itself and topic. It is probable that this emergent order reflects their degree of importance to the children. Moreover, each variable, became increasingly complex (with sub-variables) as additional aspects became relevant to the children. The

following list describes the sub-variables in each major variable.

1. The participant(s) (i.e., other persons engaged in the speech event):

   a) whether known to the child or not;
   b) whether the interlocutor "looked" Spanish-speaking or not (as perceived by the child);
   c) whether an intimate or non-intimate associate of the child;
   d) the degree of comprehension and fluency with which the person used the code;
   e) his or her role, in relation to the child (e.g., caretaker, babysitter, nursery attendant);
   f) the languages known and used by the participants (i.e., whether an English or Spanish monolingual or a Spanish-English bilingual);
   g) the verbal behavior of the interlocutor (whether he or she maintained use of one code or exhibited mixing or switching behavior);
   h) the accent and nativeness or non-nativeness of the speaker; and
   i) audience (i.e., other persons present).

2. The setting:

   a) whether the event took place in a predominantly Spanish speaking locale (e.g., Bolivia, Mexico), or not;
   b) if an English-speaking setting, whether the event occurred in the home or in a public location; and
   c) whether the gathering was of obvious Spanish-speakers (regardless of locale).

3. Function (i.e., the purpose and/or intended outcome of the event):

   a) whether the purpose of the speech act was "normal" communication and exchange of information (i.e., unmarked verbal behavior); or

b) to shock, amuse, or surprise the participants; or
c) to underscore, replicate, or emphasize a previous statement;
d) a translation or explanation of a previous comment (meta-linguistic); or
e) self-expression or private speech (the child to self); or
f) to exclude or include others; or
g) to convey insistence, severity, or a command.

4. Form (i.e., the message couched in a special form as distinct from that used in normal conversation), such as:

a) play;
b) quoting, or citing a quotation;
c) roleplay;
d) storytelling;
e) songs;
f) jokes.

5. Topic (i.e., the content or subject of the conversation), such as:

a) experiences had primarily through a particular language; and
b) often technical or specialized areas of discussion.

Arranged hierarchically (in terms of order of appearance and significance), the interlocutor or other participants in the speech event consistently emerged as a primary determinant. If the participant and the language he or she spoke were known, the child's code choice was obviously facilitated. Examples abound in the children's diaries or unequivocal use of the appropriate code. In situations where speakers of both languages were present, the children switched languages rapidly and naturally as they alternately addressed each person in the proper code, sometimes almost within the same utterance. An example of this was at 3;4 during a visit to a New York apartment where monolingual speakers of Spanish and of English were present. Mario consistently made appropriate language choices with each of the visitors. Examples abound throughout the diary from that age on, often involving fairly complex social situations, yet consistently appropriate language choices.

Analysis of the Social Determinants

An analysis of social variables affecting Mario's choice of code at age 5;0 is partially captured in the chart which follows. Taking the two initial determinants of interlocutor and setting; and only limited subvariables of each; the chart that follows depicts the interrelationship of these pertinent variables and their effects on language choice. The chart is based on actual data reflecting language selections the child made in the presence of each cluster of variables. In a sense, the chart may also be viewed as a predictive scheme capturing the child's expectations governing language use based on combinations of variables (i.e., his social-linguistic competence). The chart does not account for "marked" speech - verbal behavior not considered normal for a situation, such as acts involving surprise, shock, amusement, and the like; nor occasions when the child recounted previous linguistic experiences (such as a song, joke or quotation), generally preserved in the original language. See CHART 1 in the appendices.

This scheme remained substantially unchanged almost till age ten, except for refinements brought about by increasing awareness of other attributes pertinent to both interlocutors and setting. As the children develop - expanding social contacts, changing in their roles, and moving toward adulthood - the interplay between social factors and linguistic expression responds with increasing complexity. Further social changes most certainly will continue to affect future language choices and use.

From the earliest moments, switching behavior was patterned. A clear link developed between social factors and language choice, and continued despite increasing variables, far too complex to capture now in a single chart. Grasping the interrelationship of variables and choice in the relative simplicity of a child's scheme, helps us to understand how social factors and choice are interrelated.

Aside from depicting the patterning of language choice in the speech of a bilingual, the framework depicted was further validated by the fact that the child normally exhibited a demonstrable reaction when the language used in a given situation was other than what he perceived as normal. On such occasions, he usually made explicit comments about his observations or expressed surprise if he considered the language used inappropriate or unanticipated for the circumstances.

Mario adhered so strictly to such a scheme, that he literally behaved as

though he were a guardian of the Spanish language, reminding and sometimes chiding other family members when they spoke English rather than Spanish. He reacted even to the use of single word utterances made in English. For example, one day as his father approached the family waiting on the curb, he rolled down the car window and greeted them with: "Hi!" Mario's immediate retort was: Habla espanol!" (Speak Spanish!) Although said in jest, it demonstrated that any "inappropriate" switch to English no matter how slight seldom escaped the child's attention. On another occasion, while at the breakfast table, Mario (10;1) and his sister (6;0), both noticed their father speaking English to their mother. Both children protested, while Carla added: "No hables en ingles a mama! (Don't speak English to mama!)...Y yo le pego para que hable espanol!" (And I spank him so he speaks Spanish!), was added jokingly.

The tardy emergence of topic as a determinant of code switching behavior is indeed surprising, especially since it is so commonly cited in sociolinguistic reports of the speech of adult bilinguals (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). This is not to say that topic had no other effects upon the child's speech. For example, topic was seen as relevant in analysis of the child's interference and transference. Linguistic borrowings clearly increased or decreased in accordance with specific topics of conversation. To counteract interference, the parents of the children under study attempted to compliment their monolingual education by providing them with Spanish textbooks used in Bolivian schools, given the fact that no bilingual program was available in the area where they resided. Parallel instruction in some subjects undoubtedly helped them to become almost as capable of dealing with mathematics, reading and other content areas in Spanish as in English. But as their education continued exclusively in English, it became increasingly apparent that language development in English would eventually overtake Spanish in numerous topical areas, causing increasing code switching and borrowing by topic.

Some Patterns of Language Use

Thus far the focus has been on the development of bilingual behavior and the effects of social context on language choice. At this point there will be an attampt to capture various patterns of language use, ranging from monolingual speech to bilingual code switching, and various interlanguage possibilities. Letting X1 and X2 stand for two bilingual speakers of the same two languages A and B, Y1 and Y2 represent two monolingual speakers of the same language, B, it will be possible to depict simply some of the most

common patterns of language use:

Language Use Patterns

a. X1→A→X2 (monolingual use/single language input)

Y1→B→Y2

b. X1→AB→X2 (monolingual use/dual language sources)

c. X→A→B→Y (compound bilingual language use)

d. X1→A→X2 (coordinate bilingual language use)

B→Y

e. X1→A∿B→X2 (language alternation or code switching)

f. X→A↔B→Y (language interference)

g. X1→A↔B→X2 (language transference/language mixing)

h. X1→A & B→X2 (monolingual use and occasional transfer)

i. X→A(not B)→Y (no common language

A brief explanation will help to interpret this chart. In (a), for example, bilingual X1 is speaking A with bilingual X2, while monolingual Y1 is speaking B with monolingual Y2. In (b), X1 is using a single code, although derived from dual inputs, A and B. Theoretically, this behavior is still monolingual - use of a single code, albeit derived from two sources - in that the speaker demonstrates no capacity to differentiate A from B; hence the individual is monolingual even though observers will recognize that the code spoken is derived from two different languages. In (c), X1 is functioning as a compound bilingual in that the speaker operates primarily through a base language, like A, to be able to communicate in the second language, B. In contrast, example (d) reflects the functioning of a coordinate bilingual who typically operates with speakers of either language directly in each of the languages involved. Example (e) depicts bilingual speakers who share the

same two languages, and switch or alternate codes within the same conversation.

As always, code switching among bilinguals presents the possibility of carrying over elements from one language to the other. These are the patterns depicted in both (f) and (g). Although the patterns appear identical, the critical variant in these cases is the interlocutor. In other words, where the interlocutor shares the same two languages - as in (g) - mixing results in positive transference. Both speakers know the same two systems, hence mixing can even enhance and enrich their communication possibilities. This contrasts with (f), where the second speaker (Y) is monolingual and does not know both A and B languages. Use of both by X obviously results in interference, possibly causing a breakdown in communication. This example probably best typifies a speaker fluent in A, with limited proficiency in a second language, B. While attempting to speak B to Y, X continuously reverts to native tongue A, but to little avail since Y does not know that language. Example (h) exemplifies two speakers, X1 and X2, both of whom share the same two languages, A and B. Their communication in this case proceeds primarily in a base language, A, with only occasional interjections in the second language, B. Finally, example (i) depicts a situation in which two individuals come together with no common tongue.

All of these examples may characterize language use patterns of bilingual speakers, while not all apply in the same way to monolingual individuals. The linguistic and social competences which govern these patterns of language alternation are normal developments in individuals exposed to two or more languages from early childhood, and are rooted in their earliest stages of bilingual development.

Conclusions

Salient factors both present and absent which contributed to the distinctive use of codes by the children under study were: (1) a clear and consistent model of differentiated code use by parents and others; (2) guidance (and usually subtle) insistence on the exclusive use of a single code in most instances; (3) distinct environments, each reserved for a different code; (4) in this case study, at least, the relative isolation of the children as Spanish-speakers in an English-speaking milieu (with no negative social consequences), reinforcing their distinctiveness in a positive way; and (5) intimate association of the home language with the family unit and the children's individual identities. Questions like the following at age 8;1 reveal

the early link between language and identity: "Papa, y por que yo naci hispanohablante?" (Papa, and why was I born a Spanish-speaker?)

It must be underscored that the children cited in this particular study were fortunate not to have experienced prejudice or other incidents reflecting negative social attitudes against use of their home tongue. Unfortunately, this is not always the case for many other children raised with a home language which is different from that of the mainstream culture. Even a single negative incident can sometimes seriously affect the child's disposition against use of the home language in the presence of others, and seriously truncate bilingual development.

Code switching patterns of adult bilinguals are formed over a life time, but this competence often has its origins in infancy. Hence, code switching, as with other aspects of language acquisition, must be viewed developmentally by tracking its earliest appearances in child speech. Significant stages in language recognition, differentiation and bilingual development (based on Mario's diary) are summarized in chart 2 as an example of this process, although details will obviously vary from speaker to speaker:

Chart 2
Stages in language recognition, differentiation and bilingual development

Age	Event	Observation
0;11	Recognition (Spanish)	First Signs of recognition of some words.
1;4	First words (Spanish)	First active use of a few words
1;8	Sound reproduction (Spanish)	Recognition of Spanish sounds with attempts to reproduce them.
1;10	Differentiation (Spanish)	Differentiation of Spanish from English and other languages present in the environment.
2;6	First words (English)	First active use of a few words.
2;7	Mixing	Considerable mixing of both languages.
2;8	Separation	Separation of the two systems in speech; comments on the English behaviour of others.

3;0	Two systems	Clear and consistent separation Spanish and English, bilingual behaviour.
3;4	Recognition (Italian)	Recognition of Italian, the third "distinct" code.
3;4	Other forms	Demonstrates curiosity and interest in other forms of language (channels) such as reading, writing, spelling.
3;4 3;8	Code/Context	Demonstrates established expectations concerning the use of Spanish and English in specific contexts.
3;6	Other Codes	Shows curiosity in other languages and language play (Pig Spanish); imitates the "sound" of unfamiliar languages.
3;6	Spanish Label	First spontaneous use of the label "Spanish" to identify his own language
3;7	Awareness of other languages	Recognizes people speak other languages beyond Spanish and English; occasionally tries to imitate, rendering acoustic impressions.
3;8	First words (Italian)	First active use of an Italian phrase in appropriate context.
3;9	English label	First use of a label to describe the English language.
4;1	Metalanguage	First use of metalanguage to explore and expand his linguistic knowledge (asks for translations, Spanish-English).
4;2	Observes bilingualism	Comments on bilngual behaviour; shows interest in the languages people speak.
4;2	Acknowledges own bilingualism	Comments on his own bilingualism ("Yo hablo dos"/I speak two).
4;3	Curiosity in others' languages himself.	Asks what language others speak when he can not deduce this for
4;6	Use of labels	Fairly consistent use of labels

		to refer to Spanish and English.
4;9	Receptive use of Italian	Italian used as the language for storytelling; child demonstrates comprehension.
5;5	Comments on own multilingualism	Child comments on his own multilingualism-the knowledge of 3 languages-for the first time.
5;8	Linguistic analysis	Asks questions about specific aspects and use of linguistic forms.
5;8	Recognizes "foreign accents"	Aware of "foreign accents" and identify when speaker is non-native of Spanish or English.
6;0	Semantic insights	Aware of non-equivalency of words accross languages and multiple meanings of some words.
6;0	Intensified interest in other languages	Interest in other forms of communication intensified, and persists (Italian, 6;0; Japanese, 6;7; German, 7;9; Twi and Greek,9;6; Aymara and Quechua, 10;8).
7;3	Identifies source of "foreign accents"	Aside from his awareness of accents foreign to Spanish and English, the child can identify when the accent in English is attributable to a Spanish-speaker, and vice-versa.
7;5	Judges proficiency of non-native speakers	Judges and comments on the relative proficiency level of non-native speakers of English or Spanish
7;6	Curiosity in monolinguals	Shows curiosity in monolinguals and their perceptions of bilinguals.
7;11	Recognizes regional accents in English	Sensitive to regional language variations of English-speakers.
8;1	Recognizes regional accents in Spanish	Sensitive to regional language variations of Spanish-speakers.
8;2	Linguistic judgements sharpened	Increasingly capable of making judgements about the proficiency of non-native speakers (both

		English and Spanish).
9;0	Distinguishes some Spanish dialects	Develops ability not only to recognize language variations of Spanish-speakers, but also notes their specific characteristics.
9;1	Language intuition	Shows ability to make guesses as to origins of foreign words used in English.
10;6	Acquires Bolivian regionalisms	Incorporates Bolivian regionlisms into his own Spanish speech.

In summary, code-switching (in Mario's case) - the beginning of bilingual behavior - was evidenced as early as 2;6 despite a delayed onset of English. By 2;8 it was fairly well established and well executed. By the end of the third year, he demonstrated the ability to make appropriate language choices, switching rapidly and naturally from one language to the other. At five, he behaved like a normal monolingual child (as perceived by others) - in either of two languages - with the appropriate people, and in the right time and place. At 6;3 an amusing incident revealing his keen sensitivity to appropriate language use was noted.

> Unassisted, the child is writing a letter in Spanish to his grandparents in Bolivia. At one point he hesitates and asks:
>
> MARIO (to Papa): A Bolivia se va en avion? (Will it go to Bolivia by plane?)
>
> PAPA: Si, por que? (Yes, why?)
>
> MARIO: Nada. (Nothing)
>
> He then selects an airmail stamp to place on the envelope. When Papa notices the child sounding out English phonetically and writing "B-O-L-I-F-Y-A" on the envelope. He asks:
>
> PAPA: Pero por que escribes en ingles? (But why are you writing in English?)
>
> MARIO: Si, ipero el cartero no sabe espanol! (Yes, but the mailman doesn't know Spanish!)

By ten, both Mario and Carla displayed sophisticated code switching behavior responsive to a great variety of social factors of increasing importance to the children in accordance with their perspectives. The

linguistic and social competence begun in childhood had already developed into the complex patterned behavior characteristic of bilingual speakers.

Implications

Bilingual behavior is patterned behavior, like language itself. Although the social factors relevant to each speaker may vary from case to case, the bilingual child learns early on to discern those factors which are significant for each context, which in turn guide the individual in the language selection. And although bilinguals switch or alternate codes, even mix, they also know in which instances to make separate linguistic choices, no matter how limited their proficiency may be in a second language.

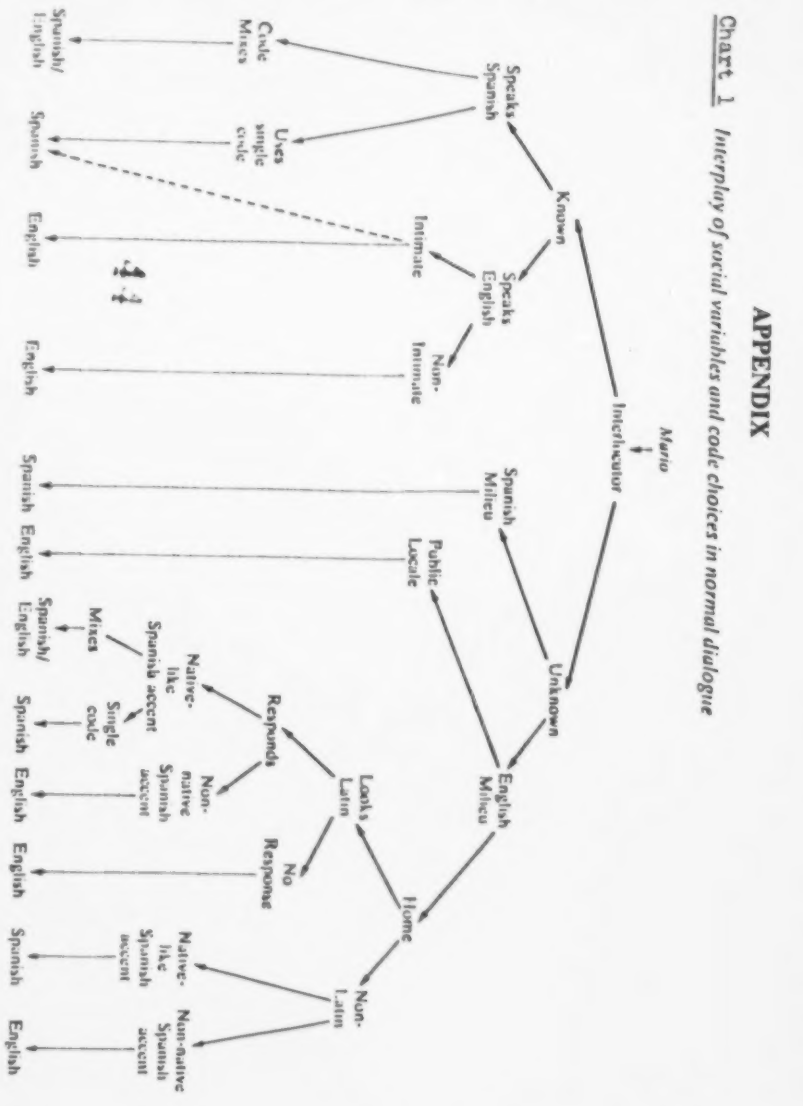
Families play a critical role in developing the patterns of early bilingual behavior and for insuring their continuation, especially as the mainstream language becomes more dominant in the child's life. And although each family displays different preferences for language use and the tolerable degrees of language separation or mixing, it nonetheless seems clear that separate language use - to some degree, in some ways, and in specific moments and contexts - aids language differentiation and bilingual development. Continuous mixing, on the other hand, may foment passive bilingualism (where the child understands both languages, but chooses to speak only one of the languages, normally that of wider communication, to the point where fluency may be impaired), or else produce an interlingual stage where the child experiences difficulty maintaining conversation in either tongue. In the latter case, the individual may lag behind monolingual peers in both languages (attested by many teachers who despair with such children, dubbing them "alingual").

Obviously there are no rigid formulas for bilingual development, but evidence seems to favor maintaining language distinctiveness to some extent. Clearly this tentative principle hardly prohibits or forbids using both languages as useful or necessary. These insights have special implications for bilingual education, for curricular and scheduling decisions, as well as for patterns of language use in the classroom. These principles also have implications for parents wishing to raise their children bilingually, whether or not there is school support for the home language. With or without bilingual education (but preferably with), parents can raise their children successfully as bilinguals, but it helps if they themselves are clear about their own values and preferences, developing models which best support their children through the developmental process. Although

language use patterns are established in the early years, they continue to be sensitive and responsive to changing social contexts. It is precisely for these reasons, that clarity about the interrelationship of language choice and social context can help bilingualism to prevail into adulthood.

APPENDIX

Chart 1 *Interplay of social variables and code choices in normal dialogue*



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EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

Lilliam M. Malave

This paper presents a follow up of selected studies on effective schools with a population of bilingual and/or limited- English proficient students (LEPs). It reviews the literature on both the effective school research, and the effective bilingual/LEP instruction research. It presents the findings of a survey that demonstrates to the limited extent that the research literature recognizes LEP students in it's sample population. The paper discusses the implications of these findings for the planning and development of effective instructional programs for LEP students. It offers recommendations pertaining to future research efforts in this field.

Statement of Purpose

This paper examines the literature on effective schools to determine to what extent it provides information related to effective schooling for minority language, bilingual, and limited-English proficient students (LEPs). It focuses primarily on the literature on effective bilingual instruction and other language programs designed to meet the needs of limited- English proficient students. It presents the findings of a survey that examined effective schools research and selected studies which cite variables included on the effective schools literature.

Review of the Literature

The effective school literature which provides information regarding the education of minority language, LEP or bilingual students can be divided into three categories: 1) studies with a population that includes linguistically and culturally different students within a bilingual or monolingual setting, 2) evaluations about the degree of effectiveness of mostly federally funded bilingual programs, and 3) investigations on effective bilingual instructional practices or features.

A review of the literature revealed that a limited number of effective schools studies identify the target students in their sample population. It also demonstrated that the majority of them make no analysis of their findings regarding the identified variables and their relationship to the academic

performance of this population. The research brief prepared by the Educational Research Services, Inc. (1983) includes three of these studies: 1) Ellis (1975) research on elementary reading, 2) an early chldhood study completed by the California State Department of Education (1980) and 3) Armor's (1976) study of reading achievement. Ellis reported no specific finding and made no recommendations related to this population. The California SED study reported that there are inadequate or non-existent means for assessing LEP or NEP (non-English proficient) students, and for assessing bilingual education programs. Some findings were included by Armor in his study of a reading program in Los Angeles. He concluded that the achievement of the Mexican American student was significantly influenced by the particular school and classroom to which the student was assigned, and that the principal's assessment of the teacher was an accurate predictor of reading achievement (1976). However, this research did not discern statistically significant relationships between any individual classroom policy/input measured and academic achievement.

The second category of research studies related to effective instruction for LEP students in the U.S. consists of evaluations of bilingual programs. Much of this literature describes typologies, and designs for program administration and implementation. These studies attempt to document the success or lack of it of particular bilingual programs. The literature is rich in program evaluations that illustrate success stories (Pena-Huges and Solis, 1980, 81; Plante, 1986; Huzar, 1973; Olesini, 1971; Barik et.al., 1979; Lagarretta, 1979). While particular language programs have been shown to be effective, the conclusions generally do not indicate the effect or relationship of specific variables on the academic achievement of the LEP students. Examples include: 1) the Head Start study (LaBelle, 1979) that presented achievement gains as a result of students' participation in bilingual programs; and 2) the AIR (Danoff, 1978), and the Baker and de Kanter reports (unpublished manuscript, 1983) which presented evidence against the effectivement of bilingual programs. Of these studies, only the AIR report attempted to provide some quantitative findings on the relationship between achievement and instructional variables. While these two reports have been widely criticized for methodological flaws (Cervantes, 1979; McConnell, 1983; Garcia and Martinez, 1982; American Psychological Association, 1982), the findings have not been dismissed. Many educational researchers have taken these reports as a challenge to improve the quality of instruction and have suggested that the consequences described in these studies necessitate further research.

A Descriptive Phase Report of the National Longitudinal Evaluation of

the Effectiveness of Services for Language-Minority Limited-English Proficient Students (1984) estimated the number of LEPs served by these programs, and provided an analytic description of the services offered. A second phase of this study, will attempt to determine the effectiveness of these services.

The third category of studies on effective instruction for LEP students focuses on classroom practices. These studies cover aspects of language instruction such as language sequence, classroom management and organization, language(s) characteristics and use, attitudes, and socio-cultural variables. Investigations on curricular sequencing of languages (L1 and L2) include support for both positions: skills developed first in L1 will transfer to L2 (Goldman, 1983), and the reverse. These findings had previously been supported in numerous studies in the field of bilingual education. Positive results in using the native language (L1) approach were confirmed in Mexico (Modiano, 1968), in Peru (Burns, 1968, 1970), and in the U.S. (Enrich, 1971; Golub, 1978). Support for L2 instruction and the transfer of skills to L1 while students progress through school have been documented by researchers in Canada (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Barik, Swain and McTavish, 1974) and in the U.S. (Cohen, 1974). In light of contradictory findings, explanations have focused on social and linguistic factors such as the: (a) status of the language taught and the national group it represents, (b) attitudes toward L1 and L2, and (c) degree of initial language proficiency.

The review of the literature also showed that cognitive and cultural factors were found to be significant determinants of productivity and effectiveness in the classroom. Studies about cognitive factors (Cummins, 1978; Fishman, 1978; Durfey, 1971; Giles, 1977), and cultural variables (Llanes, 1976; Ramirez et. al., 19) have demonstrated that there is a relationship between program practices and the acquisition of language by LEP students. A significant study completed by Wong-Fillmore (1976) identified three factors closely related to effective classroom instruction: (1) the nature of the linguistic material from which the learners begin to construct their versions of the English language, (2) the role which social factors play in the acquisition process, and (3) sources of individual differences in the children's mastery of the new language. This study illustrated that: 1) children are able to use the new language in meaningful social settings before rule learning, (2) students must establish and maintain social contact with native speakers who can provide the help needed to learn the language, and 3) characteristics such as personality, interests, motivation, and language habits can seriously affect the ability of the learner to take full

advantage of the opportunity to learn the language in the classroom.

Fillmore's three-year study on "Variation in Bilingual Instructional Practices and Second Language Learning" attempts to determine whether or not LEP students learn English better in an all English or bilingual program. Preliminary findings revealed considerable individual differences in how well and how quickly children learn an L2, regardless of the instructional and program characteristics. This variability was observed in different types of classrooms and appeared to be related to characteristics other than the learner's intelligence and motivation. The cultural background of the students and their initial proficiency in English were found to be important determinants of the learning behavior exhibited by particular groups of minority language students. The following additional instructional variables were highlighted: quality of teaching, quality of classroom environment; quality of instructional language (input), and availability of opportunities to practice English in interactions with peers and teachers.

The bilingual intervention efficacy literature, which focuses on process data rather than achievement outcome, identifies instructional strategies of significant impact on student achievement such as direct instruction and personalized systems of instruction. Research on home/ environmental variables for Hispanic students has demonstrated that, children who come from home environments and family backgrounds offering a greater variety of stimulating experiences are those which rate high on measures believed to predict school performance. There is a high correlation between student reading in the home and academic achievement (Matuszek and Haskin, 1978). There is also a high correlation between family interaction, language used, and language development (Hart, 1983; Beker, 1977; Weder and Fowler, 1984).

Affective factors have been largely ignored in the literature on LEP students' bilingualism. Collado-Herrell and Herrell (1980) demonstrated that affective meaning is an important component of bilingualism. Hansen (1983) identified confidence in learning a language lesson as a determinant of successful language learning.

A study designed to address the characteristics of effective bilingual instruction reported findings of a three year nationwide investigation (Tikunoff, 1980). The specific variables examined consisted of: (a) staff, (b) congruence of the instructional intent with the organization and delievery of instruction, (c) program consistency, (d) time spent on learning, (e) academic focus, (f) acting teaching behavior of teachers, and (g) school and community aspects. The study demonstrated that bilingual education shares many of the

same characteristics exhibited in other effective educational programs cited in the literature. Shared characteristics reported include: (1) a strong focus on academic work, (2) a high allocation of time to subject matter content and engagement time on tasks, (3) the use of active teaching practices, (4) the expression of high expectation for student performance, (5) an efficient classroom management, (6) the congruence between teacher intent and the organization of instruction, (7) the frequency of direct factual single-answer questions posed by the teachers instead of complex divergent questions, and (8) student involvement in large group instruction rather than unsupervised independent study.

In addition, the study described above provided support for two unique and significant bilingual instructional features: the use of two languages, and the use of L1 cultural information during instruction. It demonstrated that a substantial amount of the students' native language (L1) is associated with positive learning behaviors for LEP students. The use of L1 in itself provides an influential carrier of cultural information, which in turn, allows students to work with concepts in which they have had first-hand experience. It also allows students to identify with teachers, and it reduces discontinuities between the home and the school. The use of L1 also lessens possible status differences in languages, resulting in an increase in motivation toward learning.

The sum of research evidence on effective instructional practices related to the successful achievement of LEP students points to: (1) instructional practices, both shared with effective schools and unique bilingual/second language instructional practices, (2) individual learner characteristics, and (3) home-environment factors.

Methodology

Over one hundred fifty (150) papers in effective schools and effective bilingual/LEP instructional practices were reviewed to identify successful instructional practices which address the educational needs of both monolingual and LEP/bilingual students. The review emphasized practices related to bilingual/LEP language and academic programs. In addition, 225 research authors were contacted to complete a survey questionnaire to follow up the findings of the literature review. Questionnaries were mailed to determine if the studies: (1) included non-English or LEP students in their population sample; (2)included bilingual students in their population sample; (3) considered whether schools identified as effective had non-English, LEP or bilingual students; (4) explained if non-English, LEP or

bilingual students were accounted and how, when classifying a school as effective; (5) excluded the target population for the purpose of classifying a school as effective or not; (6) established any differences between schools that reported a bilingual population and those which reported non-English or LEP students; and (7) reported language-minority students (Hispanics, Vietnamese, Native Americans) as part of the sample population. Each of the authors identified, received a follow up letter and an additional questionnaire if he/she did not answer the first questionnaire, or requested more information to complete the questionnaire. The authors selected consisted of persons who had completed studies on effective schools and authors of studies that included variables cited in the effective schools literature.

Results

Ninety-seven questionnaires (43%) were returned. One fifth (21%) of the respondents were aware that their study included schools which reported language minority students. Nineteen percent (19%) included schools that identified LEP students, and less than ten percent (10%) selected schools that reported bilingual students. Effective schools with LEP students represented eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents. Effective schools with bilingual students represented less than nine percent (8.6%). Only three percent of the studies accounted for the LEPs and one percent accounted for the bilingual students to determine whether a school was effective or not. Six percent accounted for the LEP or bilingual students to determine the effectiveness of the selected variables (s) on the instructional/educational process of the respective population. Four percent indicated that they excluded the LEP students and one percent stated that they excluded bilingual students from their study. Four percent indicated that they established a difference between schools and or classes that reported a bilingual vs. LEP population.

Discussion

These findings illustrate that only a limited number of effective school studies indentified the target students in their sample population. An analysis of the findings demonstrated that the majority of the studies with LEP/bilingual students do not account for these students, and make no recommendation related to their needs. A more alarming fact revealed is that a significant number of studies did not consider the needs of these students an area of their concern. Comments that permeated these

responses include:

- We did not collect data which could enable us to answer these questions.
- My study was not fine enough to consider some of the relevant issues you raise.
- Schools are excluding LEP students when reporting scores for school improvement projects. ... I have no evidence to back this suspicion other than anecdotal evidence.
- School district policy permitted the exclusion from testing of any student whose command of English was not sufficient to respond to the test items. This exclusion was at the discretion of the school principal.

The studies that accounted for the target pupulation stated two major reasons for it: to exclude students who did not score high enough to form part of the study or to design specific research to study the target group. The larger number of studies did not consider LEP and bilingual students an issue. It is also apparent that school districts have not established a policy regarding the exclusion or inclusion of these students when reporting scores.

Research designed to study instructional practices for bilingual/LEP students identified "shared" features that apply to schools serving mainstream students. In addition, these studies singled out "unique bilingual " features. They are: 1) the utilization of L1 and L2 to mediate instructional variables, 2) social contact with native- like L2 peers and teachers, 3) the use of L1 as a transmitter of cultural information, 4) language habits, 5) the quality of instructional language, and 6) the nature of linguistic material from which the child construes English. Significant home- environmenmtal factors include: 1) home attitude towards L2, 2) cultural/ethnic indentification with L1, 3) interlanguage use by the family, 4) reading practices at home, 5) richness of the home experiences, and 6) the status of L1. Characteristics of the learner which appear to be significant are: 1) initial level of L2, 2) personality characteristics, 3) interest, 4) motivation, 5) cultural background, 6) confidence and valued perceived in learning L2, and 7) attitudes toward L2.

Major Issues

Effective schools research in monolingual and bilingual instructional programs points to a number of instructional variables that relate to the academic achievement and language learning/acquistition of LEP students. Nevertheless, attention must be devoted to the study of additional variables

and the bilingual/bicultural perspective through the use of appropriate research techniques. These research techniques most expose the unique characteristics of successful programs and instructional processes designed to meet the needs of LEP students and second language (L2) learners. In a comprehensive review of recent research and evaluation studies of programs designed to meet the needs of bilingual and LEP students, Baker and de Kanter (1983) rejected 135 and accepted only 39 investigations. A similar review by Zappert and Cruz (1977) rejected all but 12 of 184 studies and identified the following methodological weaknesses: no control for socioeconomic status, inadequate sample size, improper sample techniques or excessive attrition rate, no baseline or camparison data, no control group, and no control for initial language dominance. They also reported significant differences in teacher characteristics and other confounding variables, and insufficient statistical information or improper statistical applications (p. 46).

Alleged deficiencies apparent in the research literature on effective schools can be identified in the majority of studies on effective instruction for LEP students. Problems identified include: (1) conceptual problems with the selection of instructional measures, (2) discrepancies with the definition of effectiveness, (3) limitations of the comparisons made to explain causality, deviation of the norm, the generalization of findings, and the importance of the relationship, and (4) problems with the plans suggested to translate research findings into improved programs outside the scope of the study.

It is significant to note that two of the effective bilingual instructional studies reported (Fillmore, 1976; Tikunoff, 1980) provided measures to account for some of the identified deficiencies in: 1) definition, 2) measures of effectiveness, 3) scope of effective instructional features, and 4) student academic, socio-economic, cultural and language backgrounds. One study (Tinkunoff, 1975) provided measures to ensure appropriate generalizations, and incorporated comprehensive suggestions for program improvement. Nevertheless, additional research efforts need to continue and expand to include:

- specific cultural and linguistic elements, and their significance as mediators of instructinal practices for LEP students;
- classroom participation structures and instructional features which are culturally and linguistically influenced;
- linguistic and culturally determined behavioral norms which influence academic achievement and language acquisition;
- instructional practices congruent with language development activities and culturally determined learning

behavior;
- achievement of higher level skills in addition to language acquisition, and basic reading and math skills;
- achievement of affective goals such as self sufficiency, positive attitudes, and ability to adapt;
- variables that demonstrate long term impact which is reflected in upper elementary and middle school education; and
- effective organizational variables and their relationship to achievement.

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READING AND WRITING INSTRUCTION IN THREE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN CONNECTICUT

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The English Only movement which has been spreading across the country during recent months has increased the burden of proof on educators to show that bilingual education programs are working. Proof is usually based on results of program evaluations which tend to measure success solely on the basis of student test scores without regard to alternative measures of success, the contexts in which the programs operate, or the implementation problems which the programs face. This paper presents an alternative evaluation study of reading and writing instruction in three bilingual education programs in Connecticut elementary schools. Eleven first- and second-grade Spanish/English classrooms containing a total of 257 students were visited twice each month from March to June of 1986 to identify and describe the administrative, curricular, and instructional practices which contribute to program success. These characteristics were identified through qualitative methods such as classroom observations, interviews, and review of curricular materials. Qualitative data were then linked to students' test scores to provide a more accurate measure of program success than test scores alone could have provided.

Evaluations of bilingual education programs have traditionally measured program success by analyzing participating students' scores on standardized achievement tests. Few evaluations link these student outcomes to classroom instructional practices or to the sociocultural contexts in which the programs operate. As a result, most evaluations of bilingual education programs fail to consider indicators of success other than test score gains, and fail to explain why some programs are more successful than others.

This paper presents an alternative method of evaluating the success of bilingual education programs which has been implemented in three elementary schools in Connecticut. The evaluation research study was designed to identify and describe the administrative, curricular, and instructional practices which contribute to student success in reading and writing. Rather than focusing exclusively on student outcomes, the study was designed to be a formative evaluation, analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of program operations which contribute to the final outcomes.

Research Design

The Sample

Since the intent of this study was to describe effective program designs and instructional strategies, it was logical to choose a sample of schools where the bilingual programs appeared to be working particularly well. Therefore, the three schools were chosen according to criteria similar to those used by Tikunoff (1985) in his studies of Significant Bilingual Instructional Features; that is, the three participating schools were nominated by their districts' bilingual directors as having particularly effective bilingual education programs.

In addition to sharing the common trait of perceived effectiveness, the three programs under study also share similarities in district size, urban location, language of instruction, grade level, and types of students served. Thus, participants in this study constitute neither a representative nor a random sample of bilingual education programs. Instead, the programs were purposely selected on the basis of three criteria so that some meaningful generalizations could be drawn to the majority of bilingual education programs in the state.

First, only Spanish/English bilingual programs were selected, since 93% of the limited English proficient students in the state's bilingual education programs are native speakers of Spanish (Prince, 1987). Second, first- and second-grade bilingual classes were selected, since over half of the students served in Connecticut programs are enrolled in the early elementary grades (K-3). Third, large urban districts were selected because of their similarity in size and in types of students served. Students in the bilingual programs in these three districts are, in general, highly mobile and of low socioeconomic status, and the language used in their surrounding environments is almost exclusively Spanish. More than 75% of Connecticut's limited English proficient children live in these three cities. In all, six first-grade and five second-grade classes from three schools in three different districts were included. A total of eleven teachers and 257 students participated in the study.

Data Collection

The researcher visited each of the three schools for one full day twice a month, from March to June of 1986, moving between classrooms as

necessary to observe instruction. Reading and writing instruction were of primary interest, though at times the researcher also observed instruction in other subject matter areas, such as social studies, math, and science, since students used the reading and writing skills which they were acquiring throughout the entire school day. Efforts were made to avoid interrupting instruction whenever possible, so that the classrooms could be observed in their most natural states and disruptions could be kept to a minimum. When teachers had spare moments during planning periods, after school, between classes, or during lunch, they provided information about their lesson plans, daily classroom routines, and individual students' progress.

Through a combination of classroom observations, review of curricular materials and district guidelines, and informal interviews with teachers, students, and administrators, descriptions of the bilingual education programs in each school (particularly the reading and writing components) were constructed. In order to create such descriptions, a qualitative evaluation framework which covered three areas of inquiry (Curriculum, Instruction, and Program Administration) was adapted from Cohen (1980), Spencer and Valencia (1982), and Tikunoff (1985). The purpose of this framework was to focus the researcher's classroom observations on the most salient features of program operations in the three schools. The framework used appears in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Qualitative Framework Used to Evaluate Reading and Writing Instruction in the Bilingual Education Department

Curriculum

(1) Is a formal reading and writing curriculum available? Is this curriculum comparable to the one used in non-bilingual education classrooms?

(2) What materials are being used in each language to teach reading and writing? Are sample materials and resources available?

(3) Are the materials for teaching reading and writing equally good in both languages?
   (a) Have they been equally well field-tested?
   (b) Do both provide equally good systems of informative

feedback for students?
(c) Do both contain equally interesting stories?
(d) Do both review previous material to reinforce vocabulary and structures?
(e) How do they compare on the sequences or concepts covered?

(4) How much time is allocated for reading and writing instruction in the native language? In English?

(5) On what bases are decisions made to test students in English reading or in native language reading each year? Do the tests which are used match the curriculum which is taught?

Instruction

(1) In which language did the students begin reading? What was the rationale for this decision?
(a) Primary language?
(b) English
(c) Both simultaneously?

(2) How are instructional objectives in reading and writing set?

(3) How do teachers assess student progress? What are the indicators of achievement in reading and writing in each language?

(4) Is there a particular reading method or combination of methods being used for teaching reading in each language? (For example, the language experience approach, the phonetic approach, the basal reading approach, etc.)

(5) Do students at a particular grade or grouping all use the same book? Do they progress at the same or at individualized paces? How are they grouped for reading instruction?

(6) On what basis are decisions made to transition students from native language reading instruction to English reading instruction?

(7) Who is responsible for providing English and native language

literacy instruction? Is individual support available? Peer tutoring? Are aides' lesson plans coordinated with the teachers'?

(8) Is there evidence of "active" teaching?

(9) Does the teacher alternate between languages if appropriate?

(10) Does the teacher integrate English language development with the integration of academic skills?

(11) Does the teacher know, understand, and use the child's cultural background to improve instruction?

(12) Do teachers hold high expectations?

(13) Do teachers attempt to analyze why learning does not occur?

Program Administration

(1) Are bilingual children accepted or are they viewed as a separate group within the school?

(2) Is the principal able to articulate and demonstrate a strong commitment to the bilingual program?

(3) Are regular classroom teachers able to describe and demonstrate that they support the bilingual program?

(4) Is the native language displayed visually in the classroom? In the school?

(5) What types of training (formal and informal) have staff received in reading and writing instruction and in bilingual reading and writing methodology?

(6) Does the school employ a reading specialist? If so, are his or her services available to the bilingual education program? Are other support services which are available to children in all English classrooms (e.g., Chapter 1 Tutoring) also available to students in the bilingual program?

At the end of the year, quantitative data were also collected so that student outcomes could be linked to instructional practices. During 1985-86, the first year of the longitudinal study, these scores served as baseline data from which to measure future gains. With the continued cooperation of the school districts, student progress were tracked for a period of several years in order to measure long- term program impact.

The following section briefly describes the theoretical model upon which judgements of effective instructional practices were based. The model draws upon research in both second language acquisition and reading instruction. Its purpose is to explain the relationship between primary language development and academic achievement in order to build an argument for literacy instruction in the native language.

A Model For Bilingual Literacy Instruction

Cummins (1981a) proposes that literacy-related language proficiency skills in all languages share a Common Underlying Proficiency, or CUP. According to Cummins, experience with either language can promote development of the proficiency underlying both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both, either in school or in the wider environment. Studies supporting the CUP model, which have been reviewed by both Cummins (1981a) and Troike (1978), have shown that when cognitively demanding communication skills (such as comprehending text or writing an essay) have been well-developed in the first language and children have developed a certain minimum, or threshold, level of proficiency in the second language, skills learned in the first language will successfully transfer to the second. Thus, a bilingual program which teaches students to read well in Spanish can actually help the eventual acquisition of English reading skills.

The Importance of Sociocultural Context

Since the Common Underlying Proficiency model proposes that increasing proficiency in any one language can also increase proficiency in any other, one might argue that language minority children in the United States could just as easily be instructed in the majority language, English, from the outset. Support for this argument can be drawn from several Canadian studies which found that English-speaking children successfully learned to read English after being taught to read initially in their second language, French (see Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Swain, 1978). The fatal error in this argument lies in the fact that it ignores the sociocultural contexts

surrounding these very different types of bilingual programs. "In American schools, as in those of every country, theory and research can answer questions about literacy, how it is learned, and how best to teach it, but that information must be put into a social-cultural context to make basic bilingual educational curriculum decisions" (Goodman et al., 1979,p.20).

Examination of the sociocultural contexts in which bilingual programs operate in the United States and in Canada reveals that language minority students in the U.S. differ from the language majority students studied in Canada on a number of measures. Perhaps the most important difference is the extremely high rate of mobility found among limited English proficient (LEP) students in the United States. A decision to provide initial reading instruction in English to highly mobile children creates the danger of producing students who are illiterate in two languages, because the amount of time needed to develop the level of proficiency in a second language which is adequate to handle cognitively demanding academic skills is much greater than is widely believed. Research suggests that the average amount of time required to develop face-to-face communication skills in English is only about two years, but students may require as many as five to seven years to develop age-appropriate academic skills (Cummins, 1981b).

Given the fact that it could take as long as five to seven years before LEP students could read well enough to handle challenging academic instruction in English, it would be extremely unwise to teach highly mobile groups of language minority children in the United States to read English first, and not their home language. A great number of the children would be likely to move out of the school long before they had fully mastered English reading, and without ever having developed reading ability in their native language, either. Only in situations where attendance is stable (as was the case in the immersion studies in Canada), could such a design prove successful.

Such is not the case in Connecticut, however. During the 1985- 86 school year, close to one out of every five limited English proficient pupils in the state was regarded as transient. Over 1,500 students (or 14% of the total number of students served) spent less than ninety instructional days in a bilingual program. Two-thirds of the transient students simply moved out of their districts before the end of the year (Prince, 1987). Given this pattern of mobility, it makes sense to teach highly transient groups of students (such as Puerto Rican children in Connecticut) to read in their home language first.

Applying the Model to Classrooms

On the basis of this theoretical model, we would expect an effective bilingual education program for elementary level Spanish-speaking students in Connecticut to follow five principles:

(1) The program would provide initial literacy instruction in Spanish.

(2) While students were learning to read and write in Spanish, the program would provide oral instruction in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL).

(3) When students had become fluent readers of Spanish and they had become orally proficient in English (usually after about two or three years), the program would introduce English reading.

(4) The program would continue to develop Spanish reading skills even after students had begun to read in English.

(5) Students would be allowed to remain in the bilingual program for several years in order to develop threshold levels of biliteracy.

These principles are proposed only as a general rule, since programs for students with different characteristics would probably operate in quite different sociocultural contexts. These differences must be considered whenever one attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of a program. The following section describes the evaluation contexts in which the three sample programs in this study operate.

The Evaluation Context

According to data compiled for School Year 1984-85, 165 local public school districts operate in Connecticut, serving close to one-half million students in Grades K-12 (Connecticut State Department of Education, 1986). One-fifth of these students are racial and ethnic minorities; 8.6% are linguistic minorities. Eighty-three different languages are spoken by limited English proficient students in the state. Hispanics, primarily Puerto Ricans, comprise the vast majority of non- English speakers. The most recent U.S.

Census figures (1980) show that 35,000 Connecticut children between the ages of five and seventeen come from homes where only Spanish is spoken (Connecticut State Department of Education, 1985). In addition to being the largest language minority population in Connecticut, Hispanics also represent the fastest growing population group, and their percentage of total school enrollment is expected to increase dramatically by the end of the century. Between 1970 and 1985 alone, Connecticut's Hispanic population nearly doubled (Connecticut State Department of Education, 1985).

Since 1977, twelve districts in Connecticut have received state funds to operate bilingual education programs for students dominant in Spanish, Portuguese, Laotian, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Italian, Polish, and Haitian Creole. The number of language groups served by the bilingual program in each of these districts varies from one to five. During the 1985-86 school year, the twelve bilingual education programs served 11,482 students. The majority of participating students (71%) were enrolled in Grades K-5, and Spanish dominant students comprised 93% of the state's limited English proficient population (Prince, 1987).

The three districts which were chosen for this study are all located in large, urban areas of Connecticut, with a mean estimated 1984 population of 134,016. Although Connecticut has the highest per capita income in the country, the disparity between rich and poor is enormous. The three cities which house the school districts under study have some of the highest rates of child poverty in the nation, ranging from 41.1 - 52.1% (Connecticut State Department of Education, 1986). Community data compiled by the Connecticut State Department of Education for School Year 1984-85 (see Table 2) revealed that estimated 1983 per capita income and average median family income were three times higher in Connecticut's wealthiest communities than in the three cities under study. Approximately one-third of the families residing in these cities lived below the poverty level, and one-half of the children lived in single-parent families. The level of education for adults over the age of 25 was also low relative to other areas of the state. Slightly more than half of the adults had graduated from high school, and only one-tenth to one-fifth had graduated from college.

District level data compiled by the Connecticut State Department of Education for School Year 1984-85 (see Table 3) reflect patterns similar to those found in the community data in Table 2. The three districts under study tend to have high enrollments of students who are minorities (83%), who speak a language other than English at home (33%), and who are economically disadvantaged (47%). The 1984-85 figures showed that

students in these districts were much more likely to enter the labor market immediately upon graduation than to enroll in four-year colleges, whereas the reverse pattern was true for students from wealthy communities.

TABLE 2
Selected Community Data

	Average for 3 Research Sites	Statewide Average	Average for 3 Wealthiest Communities
1984 Population (Est.)	134,016	3,144,792*	20,551
1983 Per Capita	$ 8,013	$ 11,908	$ 26,296
Median Family Income	$ 15,240	$ 23,149	$ 45,895
Families Below Poverty Level**	28 - 33%	10%	2 - 3%
Children in Single-Parent Families**	42 - 51%	18%	8 - 13%
Persons 25+ with High School Diploma**	- 61%	70%	90 - 91%
Persons 25+ with College Degree	9 - 20%	21%	48 - 49%

TABLE 3
Selected School District Data

	Average for 3 Research Sites	Statewide Average	Average for 3 Wealthiest Communities
Total Enrollment	20,101	465,031*	3,411
Minority Enrollment	83%	21%	4%
Non-English Home Language	33%**	9%	2%
Economically Disadvantaged	47%	11%	1%
High School Graduates Entering Labor Market***	34 - 47%	29%	5 - 13%
High School Graduates Entering 4-Yr. Colleges***	22 - 26%	46%	77 - 82%

* Total

** This figure is based on available 1983-84 data, since one of the three research sites was unable to produce an accurate count of students who spoke non-English home languages in 1984-85.

*** Raw figures not available, so ranges of percentages across the three districts are presented.

(Source: Connecticut State Department of Education. Town and School District Profiles, 1984-85. Hartford, Ct: State Department of Education. 1986.)

Implications of State and Local Contexts For Program Evaluation

The prevalance of factors in these communities which have been found to influence student achievement negatively, such as low levels of education among parents and high levels of poverty, have two important implications for the evaluation of educational programs. First, reasonable expectations for program participants must be established. As Goodman et al., (1979 p.14) point out: "Since bilingual groups within our schools often represent the economically poor within the United States, it is not surprising that these populations do not do well on standardized tests. Yet the validity of such tests is seldom challenged, and the results are often used to decide if programs are working or not."

The second implication, then, is that measures other than standardized test scores should also be used by evaluators to determine success in bilingual education programs. In the three programs under study, the following examples were just a few of the alternative indicators of success:

- In a second grade English arithmetic contest in which three all-English classes and two bilingual classes participated, the first-, second-, and third-place prizes were awarded to students from the bilingual classes.

- One of only two students in an entire school who were admitted to the district's Gifted and Talented Program was a second grade bilingual education student.

- In one school approximately 40% of the first graders in the bilingual program made the school Honor Roll during 1985-86.

- In a schoolwide science fair, the winning entry was submitted by a second grade bilingual education class.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to a discussion of other major findings in the areas of Curriculum, Instruction, and Program Administration.

Curriculum-Major Findings

In general, the design of each program was based on the previously outlined theoretical model from Cummins (l981a), which suggested that a successful reading and writing program for Spanish speakers in the elementary grades would:

(a) introduce initial reading instruction in Spanish;
(b) provide simultaneous oral English language instruction;
(c) delay English reading until students can read fluently in Spanish and are orally proficient in English (usually after two or three years);
(d) continue to develop Spanish literacy skills even after students begin to read in English; and
(e) allow students to remain in the programs for several years to develop threshold levels of biliteracy.

The schools varied in how soon they introduced English reading, ranging from the end of second grade to as early as the beginning of first grade. Although achievement test results were positive at all three schools, the lowest reading scores were found among second graders at the school where (a) English reading was introduced earliest, (b) Spanish reading instruction was discontinued after students were partially mainstreamed for English reading, and (c) students exited the program earliest. This finding suggests that teachers at this school may be introducing English reading too soon, before students have developed Spanish reading skills which are strong enough to transfer successfully to English.

Each of the participating bilingual education programs had developed a formal reading and writing curriculum parallel to the district's all-English curriculum, but the degree to which it was implemented in the classrooms varied from school to school. Ideally, a bilingual education curriculum should meet three criteria:

(a) It should match the district's English curriculum in scope and sequence as closely as possible.
(b) Curriculum objectives should increase in difficulty across grades or levels.
(c) The curriculum should include a system for determining when each objective has been successfully mastered.

Of the three districts which participated in this study, one met all three criteria. The second district met the first two criteria but now needs to develop a consistent method of testing to determine when curriculum objectives have been met. The third district's curriculum will require the most work: The curriculum guide is too long to be of practical use, objectives are not matched to the materials teachers actually use in their classrooms, a testing system has not been developed, and the participating teachers did not use the curriculum guide to maintain records of student progress.

In two of the schools sufficient classroom supplies and textbooks were available. However, in one of the schools, both English and Spanish textbooks and curricular materials were in such short supply in the bilingual education classrooms that teachers wrote each reading group's entire lesson on the board every day. Students spent an excessive portion of instructional time simply copying from the board. This school was the only one of the three which has never received federal Title VII monies to purchase curricular materials and supplies.

Supplementary Spanish reading materials were also inadequate in two of the three schools. In one school half of the student population was limited English proficient, but less than 5% of the school's library books were in Spanish. In the other school, only two dozen Spanish library books were available for 170 students in the bilingual education program. Since the librarian at this school did not speak Spanish and had few Spanish materials, the library period was spent filling out English worksheets or watching English filmstrips. One of the teachers reported that a student had returned from the library with the English text of the Declaration of Independence as his choice for the week - hardly appropriate leisure-time reading for any seven- year-old, much less one who is learning English.

Instruction-Major Findings

A characteristic common to each of the participating programs was that all of the observed teachers were highly- trained and had extensive teaching experience in bilingual and general education programs. All held Connecticut teaching credentials and nine of the eleven had either completed or were nearing completion of Master of Arts degrees in Bilingual Education, Early Childhood Education, or Special Education.

Another characteristic common to each program was that students were given plenty of opportunities to write, at first in Spanish and later in English,

as their language proficiency improved. Students wrote letters, daily class journals, reaction to field trips and news events, and endings to unfinished stories. Some of the excellent instructional practices observed in the classrooms which research suggests increase literacy skills and motivation included:

- reading aloud to children;
- setting aside time for sustained silent reading;
- encouraging children to practice reading to each other;
- using reading time to expand vocabulary in the native language and in English;
- relating stories to children's own experiences;
- maintaining classroom libraries.

Other activities in the schools which promoted literacy skill development included:

- a visit from a local librarian who helped students apply for library cards;
- a Book Fair, where Spanish and English books were on display for students to purchase;
- participation in the federal Reading Is Fundamental program, which provided free books in Spanish and in English for children to keep;
- participation in districtwide Spanish and English spelling bees.

Program Administration-Major Findings

In two of the three schools the bilingual education classrooms were located next to all-English classes of the same grade, so that students from each program could participate in the other's activities. In the third school, where the bilingual education population was smallest and thus least visible, the bilingual education classes were isolated in a separate wing with the special education and kindergarten classes. This arrangement inhibited the participation of bilingual education students in mainstream school activities and should be discouraged for both bilingual and special education programs.

In the same school where program students were isolated, there was little evidence of support for the students' native language outside the bilingual education classrooms. No one in the main office spoke Spanish and

Spanish was not displayed visually in the school. In the other two schools Spanish bulletin board displays and signs for parents were seen throughout the halls. The principal at one school collected writing samples in Spanish as well as in English each month, attesting to the fact that success in Spanish was highly valued.

In all three schools, support services which were available to students in all-English classes, such as Chapter 1 tutoring, special education, gifted and talented education programs, and the services of reading specialists, were also available to students in the bilingual education programs. Inservice training sessions for all-English classroom teachers were also open to all bilingual education teachers. In addition, the bilingual education programs in each district offered training sessions specific to the needs of bilingual education staff.

Conclusions

Program characteristics identified in these three bilingual education programs which contributed to success included: numerous opportunities for students to write, the presence of a strong core curriculum in the bilingual education program which matched the district's all-English curriculum, a well-defined plan for transitioning students to English reading and writing, highly trained teachers, access to curricular materials, strong support for the native language as a bridge to learning English, administrative support from principals, and integration and acceptance into the mainstream school structure. The alternative method of bilingual education evaluation used in Connecticut not only links student achievement to the context in which the programs operate, but also documents program implementation problems which affect outcomes so that these problems can be corrected. Connecticut's approach should serve as a model for other evaluations of bilingual education programs which seek to provide more thorough understandings of program operations and more accurate measures of program success.

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INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE IN AN EFFECTIVE KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM: A CASE OF STUDY

Eugene E. Garcia

This article presents an analysis of a set of recorded teacher-child interactions in a successful kindergarten classroom. It identifies aspects of student teacher interactions during formal instruction time at micro-interactional levels. The Mehan interactional analysis model for analyzing speech acts is used. It hypothesizes that the original Mehan model of instructional interaction assists in describing the similarities and differences for teacher-student actions. The results indicate that the teacher fulfilled the general expectation reported by Mehan (1979), but did not invite instructional interaction other than choice elicitations.

A primary issue in instruction of language minority children is understanding interaction. Children from different linguistic cultures will use language in ways that reflect their different developmental environments (Hymes, 1974; Heath, 1986). For example, a child from a Mexican American or Puerto Rican family will not necessarily talk about the same things, or use language to accomplish the same functions. It is crucial that any instructional strategy used does not penalize the child for speaking the language of his or her environment. At the same time, it is also necessary to assess how language is used in classrooms particularly during instructional events.

The expansion of language theory to incorporate both an interest in language form and function in the classroom is not a recent development. In 1970, Cazden wrote:

> The study of the acquisition of language has been based on the assumption that what had to be described and explained was the acquisition of a repertoire of a finite set of rules for constructing utterances (in the terminology of developmental psycholinguistics). On this assumption, the school language problems of lower class children can have two explanations-- either they have acquired less language than middle class children, or they acquired a different language. The less language explanation has been given various names, cultural deprivation, deficit hypothesis, vacuum ideology, all with the connotation of a nonverbal child somehow emptier of language than his more

> socially-fortunate age mates. The diffferent language explanation is forcefully argued by William Stewart and Joan Baratz. It states that all children acquire language but that many children -- especially lower-class Black children acquire a dialect of English so different in structural (grammatical) features that communication in school, both oral and written, is seriously impaired by that fact alone. Both the less-language and different-language views of child language are inadequate on two counts. First, they speak only of patterns of structural forms and ignore patterns of use in actual speech events. Second, they speak as if the child learns only one way to speak, which is reflected in the same fashion and to the same extent at all times. On both theoretical and practical grounds, we can no longer accept such limitations (p. 81).

Cazden (1970) was calling for an important view of language, a focus on how the child meets the demands of situations in which language is used. More recently Au and Jordan (1981); Heath (1986) and Díaz, Moll and Mehan (1986) in examining instructional context of language minority students have suggested that until recognition is given to the sociocultural contexts of language development and instruction, educational interventions for language minority students will remain out of reach.

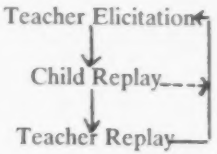
The present study follows this emphasis and discusses an analysis of a set of audio-video-recorded, teacher-child interactions. It selected a kindergarten classroom because of its academic success with language minority students. Specifically, it sought to identify aspects of the teacher-student interactions during formal instruction time (lessons) at micro-interactional levels (Mehan, 1979). This type of analysis is based on the notion that teaching is a fundamental act of interaction (Duran, 1981).

Methodology

In performing the empirical assessment of teacher-student interaction, the Mehan interactional analysis model for analyzing the sequential organization of speech acts within classroom lessons was used. This model concentrates on the sequential characteristics of teacher initiations, followed by student responses, and teacher evaluations. In so doing, this form of interaction analysis takes into consideration both the teacher and student utterances, topic selection, and conversational management in turn taking. It

was hypothesized that the original Mehan model of instructional interaction sequencing would assist in describing the similarities and differences for the teacher-student interactions. Mehan (1979) describes the total lesson discourse with the following:

INTERACTION MODEL



However, some modifications of the Mehan model was necessary to accommodate the conversational data actually encountered (Table 1).

TABLE I

DEFINITION OF INTERACTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS DURING INSTRUCTION

I. Teacher Initiations

A. Elicitations

1. Choice: An elicitation act in which the initiator provides responses in elicitation itself. ("Is it blue or green?")

2. Product: An elicitation act in which the respondent is to provide a factual response. ("What is this?")

3. Process: An elicitation act which asks the respondent for opinions and interpretations. ("What's he doing?")

4. Meta process: An elicitation act which asks the respondent to be reflective on the process of reasoning itself. ("Why does he?")

B. Directives: These are preparatory exchanges designed to have respondents take specific actions. ("Look here.")

C. Informatives: Acts which pass on information, facts, opinions, or ideas. ("This girl's dress is blue.")

II. Student Reply

A. No reply: Student does not answer initiation acts, silence for a 2-second period.

B. Topic-relevant reply

1. Choice: Choice response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("Blue.")

2. Product: Product response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("Car.")

3. Process: Process response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("Playing with a dog.")

4. Meta process: Meta process response relevant to the initiator's topic. ("Cause he's not scared.")

C. Bid: These constitute statements which attempt to gain the floor, i.e., change the topic. ("What is this?")

D. Initiation: Process statement by the student directed at another student which is (1) topic-relevant or (2) not topic-relevant. Initiations may (a) invite a student response or (b) be a comment only.

E. Reaction: Negative acts taken in response to a directive. ("I don't want to.")

F. Repetition: Student repeats the previous teacher/child statement.

G. Don't understand: Student indicates that he did not understand the initiator. ("What?")

III. Teacher Reply

A. Repetition: Teacher repeats previous child utterance: (1) partially, (2) exactly, (3) expanded.

B. Evaluation: Teacher (1) accepts (positive) or (2) rejects (negative) previous student uterance. ("O.K., that's good", "not that way.")

C. Prompts: Statements given in response to incorrect, incomplete or misunderstood replies. ("There are three.")

D. Student topic initiator: Initiating statements in response to initiations or bids by the student." ("There are two tigers.")

Most formal lessons follow the solid lines of diagramed Interaction Model: teacher elicits, students' reply, and teacher replies. However, the dotted lines indicate that at times the instruction is cut short when the teacher does not reply, as illustrated below.

"What color is this?"	Teacher Elicitation
"Red."	Child's Reply

At other times the exchange may be extended:

"What color is this?"	Teacher Elicitation
"I think it is red."	Child Reply
"That's right."	Teacher Reply
"Do you like red?"	Child Reply
"I love red."	Teacher Reply

Using the above scheme, the purpose of the present analysis was to assess the instructional style of the effective teacher of Mexican American language minority students. Specifically the following questions were asked:

1. What type of instruction style does the teacher use when formally fulfilling the role of classroom instruction (Mehan 1978, Garcia, 1983)?

2. Does the instructional style of this "effective" teacher differ from that reported for teachers with the same student population (Garcia, 1985; Morine-Dorshimer, 1985)?

3. Does the instructional style differ in the incorporation of social and linguistic factors of relevance to Mexican American students? (Kagan, 1983; Garcia, 1986; and, Wong-Fillmore and Valdez, 1985)

Selection of Participants

The classroom selected to participate in the study was chosen from kindergarten classrooms nominated as successful language minority classrooms by school district administrative an-l teaching personnel in 12 metropolitan Phoenix school districts. Only classrooms with 50% or more limited English proficient Hispanic students were requested to be nominated. Specific selection of this classroom was the result of:

A. Consistant nomination and high ratings by nominators.

B. Evaluation of academic achievement (standardized test results for the past two years) indicating that the Hispanic classroom participants were at or above grade level.

Therefore, the classroom chosen for this investigation was one recognized in the local metropolitan area as an excellent classroom demonstrating above grade level academic achievement on standardized measures.

The teacher's activities were audio-video recorded for purposes of teaching style analysis. The teacher was scheduled for audio-video tape recordings during regularly scheduled small group reading lessons once every month for a total period of five months. These lessons included Spanish-language students participating in their first year of a four year language minority education curriculum emphasizing Spanish literacy

instruction prior to English literacy instruction. Therefore, Spanish was the predominant language of instruction during these lessons. The teacher was recorded for a period of 15-20 minutes while the teacher interacted with 3-5 students. Coders received 1-1/2 hours of training on video tapes collected in previous classroom observations prior to scoring the resultant audio-video tapes of this study. (An assessment inter-observer agreement indicated significant agreement (r = .83) on the independent coding of three randomly selected sessions.)

Results

Table 2 presents the percent of: (1) teacher initiations, (2) child replies and (3) teacher replies during audio-video recorded lessons. Teacher initiation statements tended to be dominated by directives (36%) and informatives (27%) and choice elicitations (26%). Relatively few process (8%) and even less meta-process (1%) type elicitation were observed.

TABLE II
PERCENT OF TEACHER INITIATION, CHILD REPLY AND TEACHER REPLY DURING AUDIO-VIDEO RECORDED LESSONS OF THE STUDY

	CHOICE	PRODUCT	PROCESS	META-PROCESS	DIRECTIVES	INFORMATIVES
TEACHER INITIATIONS	26	10	8	1	36	27

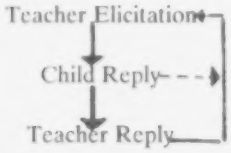
	CHOICE	PRODUCT	PROCESS	META-PROCESS	BID	CHILD INIT.
CHILD REPLY	6	18	9	2	20	42

	REPETITION			EVALUATION		PROMPT	CHILD TOP. IN.
	1	2	3	P	N		
TEACHER REPLY	8	20	20	24	0	0	30

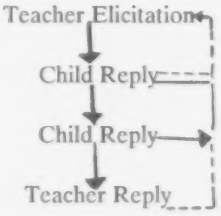
Child replies during these interactions were dominated by child bids (20%) and child initiation (42%) replies to teacher initiations. This finding is most interesting since it reflects the degree of student control of topic as well as the high occurrence of student-student interaction. Teacher replies consisted primarily of repetitions (46%), positive evaluative remarks (24%) and child topic initiations (30%).

The typical teacher-student lesson, discourse style, might best be diagramed as indicated in A below with a heavy weight on product and choice type interaction. However, the student dominated interactional style observed in this classroom is best characterized by B below.

A. TEACHER DOMINANTED:



B. STUDENT DOMINATED:



Therefore, although teacher initiations were not of the process or meta process type and therefore similar to other reported finding of teacher-student interaction (Ramirez, 1986), the children played an important role in determining the topic of discussion. Moreover, the interactions begun by teachers involved a high degree of student-to-student interaction, a large percentage of these inviting fellow student comment.

The present study examined bilingual instructor-student interaction under conditions which were identified as academically successful. Previous research with ethnolinguistic students has suggested a potential mismatch between the culture of the home and that of the school (Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974). Results of the present study extend the notion of potential discrepancies in specific interactional styles.

The study's analysis of instructional styles of an effective kindergarten teacher of successful language minority students indicated that:

1. The teacher tended to provide an instructional initiation often reported in the literature. They elicited student responses but did so at relatively non-higher order cognitive and linguistic levels.

2. However, once a lesson elicitation occurred, students were allowed to take control of the specific lesson topic and were able to do so along by inviting fellow student interaction.

The teacher fulfilled the general expectation reported by Mehan (1979). Unfortunately, she did not invite instructional interaction in other than the most communicatively simple mode, inviting student participation mostly with choice elicitations. This type of elicitation style may be particularly problematic for language minority students. That is, these students may not be challenged by this style of instructional discourse to either utilize their native language or to express more complex language functions. Ramirez (1986) has reported that this type of instructional interaction style is common in language minority classroom throughout the United States.

However, the teacher was clearly allowing student topic bidding and student-to-student interaction in the child reply component of the instructional discourse segment. The teacher was allowing a great deal of student participation once the instructional interaction was set in motion. This finding is particularly significant. Garcia (1983) suggests that such student-to-student interaction discourse strategies are important in enhanced linquistic development. Wong-Fillmore et al., (1985) report a similar finding for Hispanic children. Moreover, McClintock et al., (1983) and Kagan (1983) have suggested that schooling practices which focus on cooperative child-child instructional strategies are in line with developed social motives in Mexican American families. The style documented here is in line with the style linguistically and culturally of benefit to Mexican American students.

Conclusions

The previous discussion and data have focused on aspects related to enhancing language minority student academic success. However, it is important to note that the major issues related to the education of language-minority children pertain to the large number of such children failing in school, differing explanations for their failure, and the kind of evaluation and basic research necessary to help educators and policy- makers

determine how best to structure programs to meet the needs of these students.

Debate continues about why such a large numbers of language-minority students fail and which are the best methods to educate them. As debates continue, research must elucidate how children best acquire a second language in instructional settings and how academic success can be maximized. The present discussion has focused on the importance of culturally sensitive teaching strategies and classroom organization and on the use of native languages. These recent findings demonstrate that linguistic and cultural background influences linguistic development and academic achievement. Recent findings highlight the importance of using students' first language. Tikunoff (1983) and Wong-Fillmore et al., (1985) report that children in classes where first language was used appeared to be more involved in learning and to participate more actively in classroom discussions. Hakuta (1985) maintains that skills learned in one language transfer to another, and that a conceptual framework in the native language provides scaffolding for the acquisition of new knowledge in the second language. Children at risk of failing in school especially need language, literacy, and conceptual development in their first language. However, more research is needed to ascertain the benefits of classroom use of the native language in the cognitive, social, and emotional development of language-minority students.

It seems apparent that language minority students can be served effectively by schools. They are served by schools which are well organized and have developed educational structures and processes which take into consideration the broader attributes of effective schooling practices and specific attributes relevant to language minority students (Tikunoff, 1983; Carter and Chatfield, 1986). These classrooms exemplify instructional strategies which seem to build on socialization factors relevant to the student population. For Mexican American students, effective instruction is characterized by student-to-student instructional opportunities related to academic material. Such instruction builds on culturally relevant interactional strategies and allows engagement of students in instructional interaction which in turn, allows and promotes higher order (process and meta-process) linguistic and cognitive functioning.

It is important to emphasize that language minority education is in a developmental period, immersed in a crisis situation, and in need of further clarifying research. But it is clearly not in its infancy. A serious body of literature addressing its instructional practices, organization, and effects is

emerging. The challenge for the classroom teacher is to consider these emerging data and critically evaluate its implications for the classroom.

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ECOBEHAVIORAL VARIABLES WITHIN A CLASSROOM WITH LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS

Gene T. Chavez and Carmen Arreaga-Mayer

This study provided an analysis of the effects of classwide peer tutoring on science vocabulary spelling for three language groups. The three groups were: a) Sixth graders who were Spanish language dominant and limited English proficient (LEP) students; b) Students who were proficient at grade level in both Spanish and English; and c) monolingual English speakers. For the comparative analysis of weekly spelling gains, groups B and C were combined to form what was called the non- limited English proficient (students were identified by the use of the Language Assessment Scales ,LAS). All participants were sixth grade students at a midwestern urban elementary school. The experimental stimuli were drawn from the six grade science text. The results of pre and post weekly spelling tests demonstrated that the peer tutoring procedures resulted in gain scores for the three language groups. In addition, the Spanish dominant limited English proficient group made the greater gains when compared to the non-LEP group. These findings are discussed in terms of their implications for the design and implementation of peer tutoring programs for limited English proficient students.

Behavior observation has been called the "hallmark" of applied behavior analysis (Ciminero, Calhoun, & Adams, 1977). Hartmann and Wood (1982) stated that direct observation is an important behavioral assessment technique and reported that over 70% of the research articles published in major behavioral journals make use of direct observation procedures. Williams (1974, 1977) asserted that there were relationships between persons and proximate and distal environments that transcended traditional behavioral analyses of response-consequence interactions. In fact, it was Williams (1977) that urged a "marriage" of the methodologies of ecology and behavior analysis to create a new science of "ecobehaviorism" with the goal of finding, measuring, and testing for these multiple interactions, as well as bringing to light "ripple effects", and avoiding possible unintended negative effects in treatment.

The purpose of the comprehensive research, of which this study is a part, was to quantitatively observe, record and analyze ecobehavioral variables within a classroom containing a number of limited English proficient (LEP) Mexican immigrant sixth grade students. This study provided analysis of the effects of a selected variable: classwide peer tutoring. The students were involved in a classwide peer tutoring program

for science vocabulary words spelling. Before recommendations for improving instructional procedures among these students were offered to inner city school district personnel, where these students had recently begun school, variables affecting their learning were explored.

Based upon the major research, attention was given to some of the special educational needs of the LEP students in the sixth grade classroom. Special attention was given to these five areas:

1. Monitoring, controlling, and coordinating the amounts of academic responding for culturally and linguistically different learners (Arreaga-Mayer, 1986).

2. Examination of the culturally induced behaviors that diverse LEP students bring with them to the classroom (Maheady, 1985).

3. The need to go beyond the "medical model" approach used to measure success in school which most generally assumes that something is wrong with the culturally different student (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1984).

4. The need to investigate second language acquisition among LEP students within what Saville-Troike (1983) called the context of the cultural content within the educational environment.

5. A context-specific approach which examines the actual process of the interaction between individual LEP students and their learning environments with the classroom (Diaz, Moll, and Mehan, 1986; Greenwood, Arreaga-Mayer & Clark-Preston, 1985).

The specific research questions included in the study were:

1. What were the levels of academic responding during bilingual (Spanish/English) tutoring sessions as compared with English only tutoring sessions?

2. Were bilingual tutoring methods used on designated bilingual tutoring sessions more effective for teaching science vocabulary than the methods used in non-bilingual tutoring sessions?

Methodology

Subjects.

The sample consisted of 27 students (14 bilingual: English/Spanish); 8 monolingual(Spanish); and 5 monolingual (English). There were 12 males and 15 females in the sample (6 males and 8 females/bilingual; 2 males and 3 females/monolingual- English; 4 males and 4 females/monolingual-Spanish).

All of the bilingual and monolingual/Spanish speaking students were of Mexican descent. Of the five monolingual/English, 3 were Black and 2 were Anglo. All the students were enrolled at the sixth grade level in an inner city midwestern urban school. The eight monolingual/Spanish students participated in a bilingual pull-out program for LEP students at the school.

Procedures

Sixth grade students who were limited English proficient as measured by the Language Assessment Scale (LAS) and their monolingual English speaking peers were trained to participate in a Classwide Peer Tutoring program developed at the Juniper Gardens Children's Project in Kansas City, Kansas (Stanley & Greenwood, 1981). The program was designed to teach the spelling of science vocabulary words. The experimental stimuli (science vocabulary words) were drawn from the sixth grade science text using a different list of 20 words each week. Weekly measures of spelling gains were gathered by use of pre and posttests.

It was hypothesized that the students who were LEP would demonstrate greater gains from pretests to posttests as a result of the tutoring experience (independent variable), especially if they were given an opportunity to use the Spanish language if they desired. During alternating weeks students were permitted to use Spanish to instruct, spell, correct, and/or communicate with their peer in the tutoring dyad (language preference condition-LP). The study was conducted over eight weeks using an alternating treatment design, where the all English tutoring condition (E) was followed by the language preference condition (condition-LP). During the condition-LP tutoring weeks students were encouraged to use Spanish.

Treatment Design

Wk.1	Wk.2	Wk.3	Wk.4	Wk.5	Wk.6	Wk.7	Wk.8	Wk.9
*TR.	**E	***LP	E	LP	E	LP	E	LP

*Tr. = Training Teacher & Students
**E = English Only Tutoring
***LP = Language Preference (Spanish/English) Tutoring Allowed

Findings

Children in both the LP and E weeks showed significant gains in science word spelling improvement due to the tutoring experience. Limited English proficient students, as was hypothesized, showed slightly greater gains, during the LP weeks when the language preference condition was implemented.

Figure 1 (see page 90) shows that during the eight weeks of tutoring, correct academic responding increased from a group mean of 29% correct science spelling words across pretests to a group mean of 92% correct across posttests. Tables 1 and 2 show the gain effects observed for all students within the different tutoring conditions.

An analysis of the specific gain effects by independent groups and conditions can be found on Table 1.

Table 1

Mean percentage gains from Pre-test to Posttest for LEP vs. NON-LEP students.

Group	W1=E	W2=LP	W3=E	W4=LP	W5=E	W6=LP*	W7=E	W8=LP
LEP	55%	56%	73%	70%	84%	69%	81%	84%
NON-LEP	27%	41%	51%	67%	76%	68%	64%	63%

*Week 6 as an irregular week for data collection - percentages represent only 3 days of tutoring versus the regular 5 days of tutoring intervention.

Table 2

Percentage of Weekly Science Vocabulary Spellin Gains from Pre-Test to Posttest

	E WEEK 1		LP WEEK 2		E WEEK 3		LP WEEK 4	
	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST
Total Group	57	98	41	84	33	94	20	86
LEP Group	43	98	39	98	23	96	16	86
Non-LEP Group	66	94	41	82	41	92	22	89

	E WEEK 5		LP WEEK 6		E WEEK 7		LP WEEK 8	
	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST
Total Group	16	95	21	91	25	92	20	93
LEP Group	9	93	20	89	15	96	8	92
Non-LEP Group	21	97	24	92	32	96	28	90

LEP = LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT

NON-LEP = NON-LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT

Figure 1
MEAN PERCENT CORRECT SCIENCE VOCABULARY WORDS

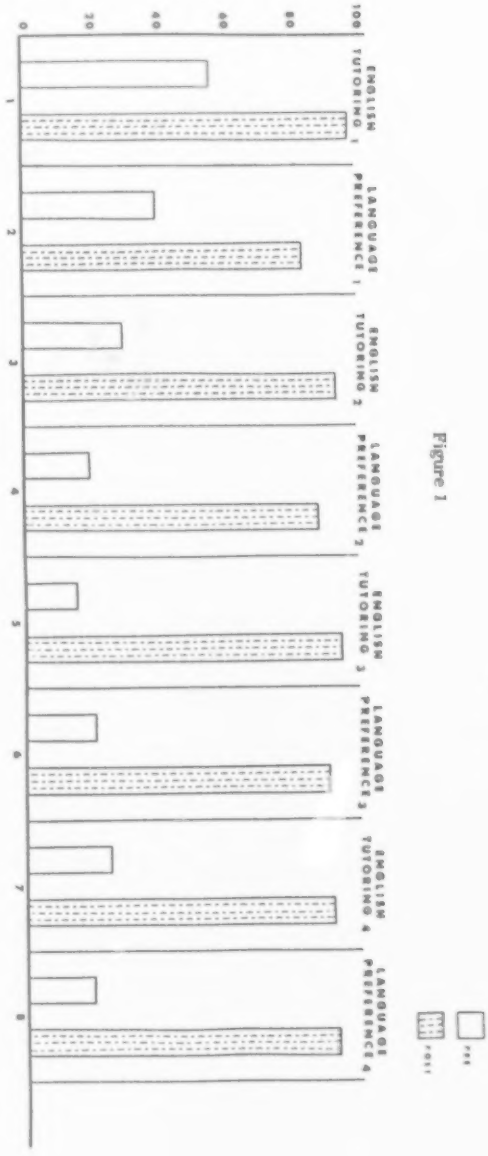


Figure 1

Figure 2
MEAN PERCENT GAIN FOR LEP AND NON-LEP STUDENTS

Figure 2 shows a comparison of the results for correct spelling gains for the limited English proficient (LEP) students and the non-limited English proficient students (non-LEP) during the eight weeks of the study. The LEP correct spelling words gains showed an increase from a total mean of 22% across pretests to 93% across posttests. The non-LEP correct spelling words gains showed an increase from a total mean of 34% across pretests to 92% across posttests.

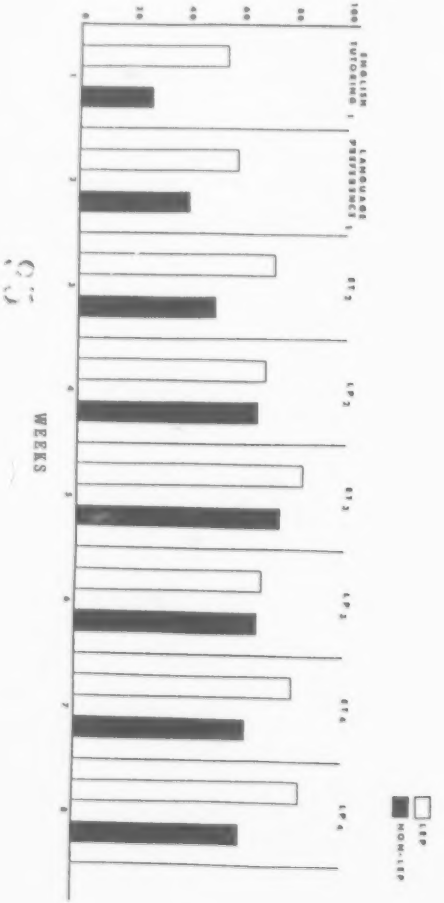
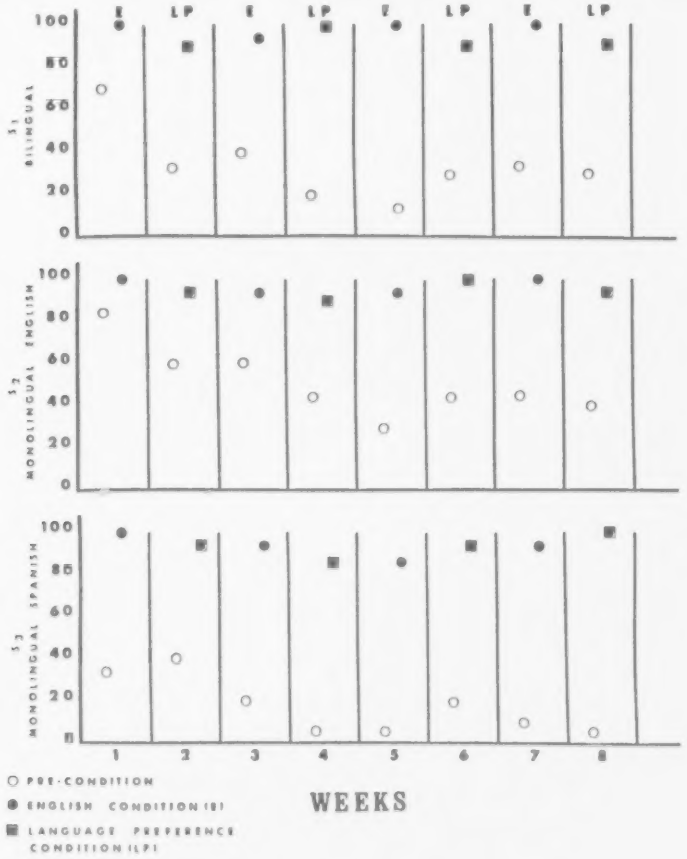


Figure 2

Figure 3
PERCENT CORRECT OF WEEKLY SCIENCE VOCABULARY TESTS

Figure 3 represents the individual achievement gains of three randomly selected students from each of the groups studied, that is, bilingual, monolingual/English, and monolingual/Spanish. The graphs represent the percentage of science vocabulary words correct on a weekly basis by conditions. In comparison, all groups showed spelling gains from 85% to 100% during weekly posttests. The bilingual and monolingual Spanish students represented the largest gains with the monolingual/English students showing the lowest gains of the three students.



Significance of The Study

Since a great deal has yet to be learned about the effectiveness of bilingual methods of instruction and since studies examining the ecobehavioral phenomena within bilingual classrooms are virtually nonexistent, this study provided a new way of looking at the effectiveness of a bilingual pedagogical method.

These findings, although limited in scope and in need of replication, strongly suggest that classwide peer tutoring results in greater academic gains for students. Specifically, the study validated that the effects of intervention changes in instructional contexts and student responding, as in the English condition vs. the language preference condition in peer tutoring, co-vary with achievement gains and support the validity of both approaches.

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CREATIVE READING
A RELEVANT METHODOLOGY FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY CHILDREN

Alma Flor Ada

This article deals with elements that contribute to the development of an effective approach to the teaching of reading to language minority students within the context of critical pedagogy. The elements discussed are: the quality of the reading materials, the role of oral language development, the design of an initial decoding process geared to success, the need to make reading relevant to the students' own lives, and the incorporation of parents in the literacy process. Drawing on the theories and work of Paulo Freire, it proposes the use of dialogues to develop an interactive reading process aimed at the empowerment of students. It attempts to validate each student's own feelings and previous experiences and to develope critical thinking skills and problem-solving attitudes that can help shape reality.

Traditionally, reading, like listening, has been characterized as a receptive aspect of communication, in contrast to the productive aspects, speaking and writing. This characterization tends to promote the teaching of reading as a passive endeavor, in which the reader receives the information provided by the text. Consequently, the emphasis is placed on reading comprehension, interpreted as the ability to accurately repeat what the text says. But reading can also be understood as a highly creative act, a dialogue between reader and text, in which the reader not only brings to the text his or her experiences, values and beliefs but engages in an active --albeit internal and silent-- dialogue with the text. This leads to a critical analysis of the text and the drawing of motivation and information from it aides in the reader's quest to decode and transform, his or her world.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze ways in which reading can be taught as a creative process and ways in which reading can be given a new relevance for students who might otherwise fail to develop enduring literacy skills.

Reading, a basic aspect of education, warrants special attention, for most of the information students receive and are tested on is in written form. The common practice has been to divide the reading process into a number of isolated skills placed along a continuum, scope and sequence. The assumption is that the various skills must be mastered sequentially. Thus,

students are moved from readiness or prereading skills to word attack skills, and then on to literal comprehension skills. Only when these are mastered will inferential skills be introduced. Critical thinking, problem solving, and creative skills are restricted to those children who have managed to reach the upper reading levels.

Unfortunately, many children do not attain these levels. In many classrooms, children begin to fail in kindergarten and they "fall below the norm" in first grade. They are condemmed as not being sufficiently good, bright, or capable by a system that imposes external norms, that presupposes to know what every child should learn or do at a given time. Children are told that they do not have the capacity to suceed when they receive prereadiness skills pages, phonix exercises or engage in activities which do not reflect actual reading.

An alternative approach to reading, in which the goal is to have children read with pleasure, ease, assurance, freedom, and enthusiasm, should have these five essentials.

- The materials should be interesting, to awaken the children's desire to read.

- The children's oral language development should be continuously fostered through the reading process.

- The method selected for teaching initial reading should be geared to success, instilling in the children confidence in their ability to learn.

- The reading process should be immediately meaningful. It should be relevant both to their real world and to the process of effecting positive changes in that world.

- Parents should be actively involved in the process.

What follows is an analysis of each of those five elements within the context of the Creative Reading Method (Ada, 1980; Ada and Olave, 1986).

The Quality of the Reading Materials.

Materials of the highest quality are essential to a successful reading process. The materials must be well written, handsomely illustrated, and engaging. Every child has a right to the best. Because children reared in poverty are usually deprived of aesthetic, uplifting experiences, our minority children have an even greater need for beautiful materials.

Aesthetics has been a significant human force. All cultures, at all times, have had a thirst for beauty, which they have expressed in a multitude of ways: buildings, clothing, and artifacts have had both a utilitarian and an aesthetic value. Only with the servitude imposed by feudalism and during the industrial revolution was the pursuit of beauty totally subjugated to the demands of utilitarianism. One of the negative consequences of consumerism is that it has helped distort and destroy people's aesthetic sensibility, making them want to purchase and possess objects lacking in practical as well as aesthetic value.

One of the charges that might be leveled against today's American schools is that they have given up on aesthetics as a common good to which all children are entitled. Modern technology has made it possible for everyone to appreciate works of art through recordings, slides, videocassettes, reproductions, and to have access to the best examples of beauty in all cultures. However, these are being denied to schoolchildren who have no other opportunity of being exposed to them. Schools have become bleak and ugly. There is a belief that most children would not be interested in, would not accept, or would even be repelled by the fine arts.

We know that a positive attitude and a feeling of well- being are highly conducive to learning. We also know, as has been demonstrated in the suggestopedia studies (Pollack, 1979), that some classical music helps foster that feeling of well- being, that receptiveness to learning. Yet very little, if anything, is being done to take advantage of fine art and good music as means of creating a more pleasant, more learning- receptive environment in our schools.

In the teaching of reading, we have the opportunity to select the best of children's literature --books that combine an attractive format and handsome illustrations with good writing, that make effective use of humor, are designed to make reading enjoyable.

Oral Language Development and Reading.

The ample and varied research in reading has produced few conclusive statements. Yet there does seem to be agreement on one factor as having a significant correlation with success in reading. This factor is that the children who tend to achieve greater success in reading are those who have good oral language development, and those to whom parents read aloud frequently. By and large, these happen to be precisely the same children.

This finding poses a very special challenge. Schools that are in place only to perpetuate existing inequalities will use this finding to support the thesis that minority children fail because of their inherent limitations. Those who believe that the underlying reason for education is to provide that which otherwise would not be available will recognize the need to develop the children's oral language as a basis for success in reading, as well as for its own sake. They will also see the need to establish reading aloud to children as an essential part of the reading process.

Teachers must assist students in the process of developing the totality of their human potential, in becoming truly active agents of their own lives, capable of determining their future and of transforming dreams into reality. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the orientation of classroom activities and attitudes.

If the children are to develop the skills that will prepare them for leadership roles, they need opportunities to talk, to question, to debate, to share experiences, and to express their opinions. They also need opportunities to write. As the great Latin American thinker Jose Marti said, "To learn to read is to take a step forward; to learn to write is to take a step upward."

There is a correlation between children's oral language development and their reading ability. The greater their store of oral language, the more likely they will come to grips with a book, to understand it, and to make the predictions necessary for smooth reading. It is therefore extremely important to work toward the development of children's oral language skills.

In light of the above-mentioned linguistic principles, such development is achieved mainly through the meaningful use of language. Every time the occasion arises, children should be spoken to and encouraged to speak. They need language development models. Just as newly born babies begin to learn

their language because their parents speak to them, regardless of whether or not they can understand what is said, school-age children need models that speak unfamiliar words, for this is how they will learn those words. Similiarly a mother does not explain to her baby every word she utters but, instead, uses words in a meaningful context and thus teaches them to the baby, children should also be spoken and read to in a language that is rich and abundant. There is no need to stop and explain every word. Hearing them in a meaningful context, children will add unfamiliar words to their vocabulary.

Children's literature and folklore can be of enormous help. The simple poems, tongue twisters, riddles, and cumulative tales found in folklore are easy to remember because of their frequent use of rhythm and rhyme. Songs are an excellent means of developing vocabulary and syntax, for adding music to rhythm and rhyme fosters retention. What better language development exercise than a song a day! Besides, songs help allay anxiety, which works against learning. They also create a cheerful classroom atmosphere which is conducive to any learning task.

Introduction to the Reading Process

There has been a very long feud over reading methods. Traditionally, educators have joined one of two opposing camps: advocating phonetic methods or defending sight-reading approaches.

In itself, the feud reflects one of the serious problems facing American schooling: the pendulum effect. For the most part, schools entirely abandon one method in favor of a new one, which eventually will also be replaced, sometimes returning to a modified version of the previous one. Teachers resent this process because they often find themselves forced into adopting a method they do not necessarily feel comfortable with, only to have to abandon it when they are beginning to master it. In the interest of progress, the pendulum might better be replaced by a spiral, for this allows advancement to be made by carrying the best of a given process to a new level, with a new twist.

At first glance, the two opposing methods have both good and bad points. The phonetic method, on on hand, is economical. After mastering a limited number of sounds and sound combinations, children are able to decode an almost unlimited number of words. It also recognizes the basic structures of the language. Its disadvantages are that: 1) it works with artificial language, 2) children are drilled in producing and recognizing

sounds in isolation, quite apart from their language experience; and 3) the process of learning something that has little to do with actual reading often leads to frustration.

The sight-reading approach, on the other hand, utilizes more natural language and therefore awakens more interest on the part of the children. Unfortunately, this process is slower, depending on the memorization of whole words, and some children are unable to make the transition to decoding new words.

Outside these two mainstream approaches, the language experience method, in which the children dictate and read their own productions, is perhaps the best possible individual approach to reading. Unfortunately, it has not yet had the widespread application it deserves.

Another method, proposed by Paulo Freire (1982a), has been used very successfully for adult literacy. It utilizes a whole word or phrase that will be remembered because of its implications to the group as a generative word, a word to be divided into syllables which, will be used to create new words. This approach suggests the possibility of a syncretic method, that is, a method which takes the best from the phonetic and the sight-reading approaches.

The development of a syncretic reading method in Spanish is aided by the correlation between sound and symbol in Spanish syllables. Producing highly motivating and engaging readings, with a limited number of syllables requires a good deal of creativity. The syncretic method has the advantage of being economical: after mastering each new set of five syllabic combinations, the children incorporate a large number of words to their reading vocabulary. More important, it is a method geared to success. The children have the opportunity to constantly reinforce that which they already know (sets of syllabic combinations) --not by reading the same words (which would be monotonous), but rather by encountering the same syllables in new words. By never presenting the syllables in isolation, by always basing the text on natural, everyday language, and by creating high-interest stories enhanced by good art, it is possible to offer the children a syncretic approach to Spanish reading.

It is important not to confuse the syncretic method with the "eclectic" approaches, which incorporates, at random, elements from the phonetic and the sight-reading approaches and which seem to abound in recent reading programs. The syncretic method is systematic. It carefully controls the introduction of new words formed by known syllabic combinations.

Moreover, because it is inspired in Freire's (1982a) methodology, it uses dialogue to make those words highly significant to the children and to guarantee their retention. The use of rhyme, rhythm, and humor helps facilitate decoding and remembering words.

The Reading Process

Burdened with economic and social problems, insecure about their ethnic identity, and insufficiently equipped with oral language skills, minority students continue to fail in reading when this is presented mechanistically, as a passive, receptive process.

Because the children we are concerned with come from homes where reading is not a daily practice, it is imperative to provide a meaning for the reading process such that the children can readily perceive it. Since these children are immersed in a world of poverty and dissatisfaction, it is essential that they perceive reading not only as relevant to their present reality but as a mean of effecting positive changes in that reality.

The Creative Reading Method proposes that reading be introduced, from the start, as a holistic process, whose relevance goes beyond the transmission of the information provided by the text. A true reading act is an interactive dialogue with the information set forth in the text. In the Creative Reading Method, children are exposed to the complexity of this dialogue even before they are able to recognize words or letters. That is, the reading process is initiated through either the reading of wordless picture stories, or the listening of read-to stories. The story then becomes the basis for the dialogue, but it is not the end-only the beginning.

For the sake of exposition, the four phases have been given names and will be discussed separately, although in a creative reading act they may happen concurrently and be interwoven.

Descriptive Phase

In this initial phase the children learn what the text (or an illustration) says. Traditionally, this is where reading begins and ends; here it is only the beginning. Appropriate questions might be along these lines: What happened? Where, when, and how did it happen? Who did it? Why?

These are the usual reading comprehension questions and, for the most

part, the only ones asked of beginning readers. They are questions whose answers can be found in the text, are known by the teacher, and indicate whether or not the children have understood and can recall the information given them. Such questions are undoubtedly important, but they are not enough. A discussion that stays at this level suggests that reading is a passive, receptive, and, in a sense, domesticating process.

Personal Interpretive Phase

Once the information has been presented, the children are encouraged to weigh it against their own experiences, feelings, and emotions. This step is extremely important. It fosters the reading process by bringing it within the children's grasp and thus making it more meaningful. It helps develop the children's self-esteem by showing that their experiences and feelings are valued by both the teacher and their classmates. Moreover, it helps the children understand that true learning occurs only when the information received is analyzed in the light of one's own experiences and emotions.

Much has been said about the need for affective instruction that recognizes the emotional needs of minority children. Unfortunately, the affective component is often considered peripheral, not truly essential to the learning process. The Creative Reading Method, on the other hand, stresses recognition of each child's individuality as an integral part of that process. Clearly, as the children's own experiences are being validated, so too are those of their family and community. Cultural validation is not something that is superimposed or added on, but forms part of the very core of the process.

Questions appropriate to this second phase might be: Do you know of (or have you seen, felt, experienced) something like this? Have you ever (done, felt, thought, wanted) something similar? How is what you saw (did) different from what happened in the story? What would you have done (said, thought)? What about your family? Friends? How did you feel after reading that? Did you like it? Dislike it? Did it worry you? Made you happy? Frightened you?

A better understanding of one's self, and of others, is an added benefit of this part of the dialogue. The respect shown by others for one's personal experiences helps increase one's self- esteem.

Critical Phase

Once the children have compared and contrasted what is presented in the reading with their personal experiences, they are ready to move on to a critical analysis, to the level of generalized reflection.

The questions asked at this level will help the children draw inferences about the information presented: Is what happened valid? Always? When? Is it always necessary? Does it benefit everyone alike? Or does it favor some at the expense of others? Does everyone accept it? Are there any alternatives to this situation? What are these alternatives? What do they depend on? Would people of a different culture (class, sex) have acted differently? How? Why?

The analysis is, of course, determined by the children's level of maturity and previous experience. Yet let no one think that young children cannot adopt a critical attitude. On the contrary, critical thinking is a process that can and should get underway very early, though naturally in terms of that which is familiar to the children.

Creative Phase

The goal of the Creative Reading Method is not met with the awakening of the children's critical awareness as a mere intellectual exercise. Rather, the process is completed only when the children can draw on it in order to make decisions regarding the world around them. That is, once the children have received the information, compared and contrasted it with their own feelings and experiences, and arrived at a critical analysis, they will feel that their self-affirmation is such that they are in a position to make decisions for improving and enriching their lives.

The dialogue at this phase is aimed at helping the children discover aspects of their lives that they can improve and encouraging them to make decisions with that purpose in mind. Of course, it is not a question of the children changing the entire world, but of changing their own world, by beginning to assume responsibility for their own lives and for their relations with others.

Parental Involvement

The reasons why language minority children in the United States may be somewhat slow to acquire oral language skills are generally thought to include the following:

- The displacement of the nuclear family (parents and children) and the separation from the extended family (grandparents, uncles and aunts), thus lessening child/ adult interaction.

- The absence of one parent from the home, or the need for both parents to work outside the home, thus reducing not only the time but also the quality of the attention that parents can make available to their children.

- The relatively low levels of literacy and schooling of many parents.

Yet there is another reason for the lag in the acquisition of oral language skills, even more prevalent and detrimental than those given above:

- Parents and children alike perceive the home language as being less important than English and have the mistaken notion that the best way to learn English is to give up the home language.

Parents who hold to that idea reflect the natural desire of all parents to have their children use language well. Their very human attitude is deeply rooted in the unconscious. Their mistake lies not in wanting their children to speak English well but in thinking that turning away from one's first language makes it easier to acquire a second. Yet, all the evidence indicates that the opposite is true. Surprising as it may be to some, the best way for a language minority child to truly master English is to master the home language well (Cummins, 1981).

The skills required for mastering a language are basic and general, and are unrelated to the specific language (English, Spanish, French, etc.) in which they are applied. If children develop second language skills in their first language, those skills will lay the groundwork for acquiring and perfecting the second language. Furthermore, if children do not fully develop language skills in their first language, this limitation can adversely affect not

only their cognitive growth but also the acquisition of higher language skills in their second language.

Aside from serving as the basis for children's cognitive growth and for their acquisition of a second language, there are other equally important reasons for first language development.

Some of these reasons are sociocultural:

- Only by using their home language will children be able to fully relate to their culture and come into possession of the cultural heritage that is theirs.

- Mastery of two languages is useful and valuable in its own right.

- The society of the United States needs bilingual people in order to maintain relations with the non-English speaking countries of this hemisphere.

There are also psychological reasons:

- A person's psychological strength is derived from his or her self-concept. One's home language is a part of one's personal identity. Renouncing that language is tantamount to renouncing a part of oneself, and this is harmful to a positive self-image.

- Emotional well-being is linked to interpersonal communication, to family relationships, and to the degree of integration within the nuclear family and the community.

- Giving up one's first language diminishes the interaction between children and their family and community.

Parents can offer the most effective collaboration in oral language development and in the acquisition of reading and writing skills. So they may better fulfill that role, it is sometimes necessary to help them understand the meaning and importance of those processes.

A good way to attract parents to the school is to offer a creative reading program in which their children can participate. Better yet, parents must be

involved in organizing such a program. The occasion might be a play staged by the children or an evening in which the children sing, recite, and read some of their own stories. Storytelling sessions followed by book displays that would give the parents the opportunity to see models of how they can interact with their children and a book are also excellent.

Once the parents are at the school, the importance of their children having a good command of the mother tongue might be explained to them.

Any doubt the parents may have in this regard should be discussed and dispelled. Then, ways in which they can best help their children might be suggested to them . To encourage their children's oral language development, parents might:

- Ask their children to tell them what they have done in school on a daily basis.

- Encourage their children to share their thoughts and feelings with them. The parents should not feel compelled to offer solutions but they should know that it is important for their children to have someone with whom they can feel close.

- Talk with their children about their own experiences, both current ones and those of their childhood and youth. These experiences will not only enrich their children's lives, but also give the children confidence in sharing their experiences as well.

- Ask their children for suggestions when there is something to be done, bought or repaired. Once the children have expressed their opinions and suggestions, they should be asked to explain their reasons. Their opinions deserve respect.

- Encourage their children to reflect on everyday experiences, including what they see on television, through questions such as: Why did that happen? Could it have turned out differently? What possible solutions can you think of?

- Teach their children songs, sayings, games, and riddles; tell them stories or legends they remember, and, if possible, read their children stories.

If language minority children are to find a role in a highly technological, information-oriented society, if they are to escape from the present statistical predictions, they need to master the art of communication. They need to become truly literate, and develop critical thinking skills.

The purpose of the Creative Reading Method is not to place the burden of our responsibility on children, but rather to liberate them from the feeling of being trapped by unmalleable, self-defeating circumstances. Through actual demonstration and experience, teachers need to give students the confidence that they can improve their present environment, their human relationships, and their emotional responsiveness. If teachers succeed in giving this much to language minority children, they will have succeeded in validating the learning experience for those who might otherwise have found little relevance in the classroom.

Suggestions for Further Study

The Creative Reading Method is being implemented in numerous classrooms throughout the country. Although teachers and students have provided valuable feedback, and although classroom evaluations demonstrate the successful application of the method, no studies have yet been published to show its effectiveness. The inclusion of both quantitative and qualitative data in research on interactive approaches to literacy would be most welcomed. However, standardized tests provide limited information about the role of reading in a child's life, although they are widely used as the basis for the formulation of educational policy. It is therefore desirable to show that interactive approaches also result in improved test scores.

On the other hand, if we practice interactive pedagogy, our research goals will go beyond test scores. If educators want to know whether students are becoming empowered --that is, whether they are acquiring the tools for understanding and analyzing their own experience and for exercising freedom by recognizing that every situation offers various alternatives for action and that they can indeed take charge of their own lives-- a significant research design will be participatory in nature. By engaging the students in dialogue, it will encourage them to reflect critically about themselves, their world, and the place of education in it. If educators are interested in determining the

role of literacy in the students' lives, and whether that role has in any way been modified by an interactive education process, educators would do well to assess the uses students make of libraries, the books they select, and how much they read for enjoyment. If students are invited to reflect on how their literacy skills and their attitudes toward reading affect their own lives, research will go far beyond providing information. It may be a tool for the enrichment of students who would serve as coparticipants in the research process.

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TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF ERRORS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND ACQUISITION

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This study examines prevailing views on the role of errors and on error correction held by teachers and other school-related personnel interfacing with the L2 learners. An error perception inventory was administered to a group of school personnel completing training at the graduate level. A factorial design with teaching status and type of classroom was used to analyze the data. The findings indicate that teachers in general have a better attitude toward L2 errors than other school personnel. Bilingual teachers did not demonstrate more awareness of the useful role of errors in L2 learners than ESL or traditional classroom teachers.

An emphasis on the product of language (performance) as opposed to the process of language (competence) characterized the climate of the 60's. This focus supported the idea that errors in the second language (L2) were "mistakes" (Brooks, 1960; Hansen & Wilkins, 1974) to be corrected through behavioral techniques such as drill, practice, and memorization, typical of the prevailing audiolingual methodologies. Chomsky (1959, 1968), however, challenged the validity of product-orientation by questioning its ability to explain novel utterances in L2. As a result, alternate views emerged to redirect the focus of attention to other realms of language learning such as cognitive and the environmental aspects. These views have sustained momentum to the present (see for example Dulay, Burt & Krashen; 1982; Krashen, 1982).

Errors are defined in this study as deviations from standard performance in L2. These deviations occur when speakers test hypotheses which they have formulated about the L2. For example, when the regular past tense rule has been internalized by the L2 learner and he/she applies it in a situation that calls for an irregular form, a deviation or error occurs. In this context, errors are acceptable and should be perceived as helpful features in diagnosing, explaining, and predicting L2 performance (Corder, 1967; Lange, 1977; Lantolf, 1977; Weaver, 1982; Zydatiss, 1974). Additionally, research has found that error correction plays an insignificant role in improving L2 performance (Cohen & Robbins, 1977; Hendrickson, 1977a; Plann, 1977). Thus, current pedagogical emphasis has moved away from focusing on preventing errors to learning from errors (Hendrickson, 1977b; Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982). Since errors can provide teachers with useful

information regarding the nature of the language process as well as information regarding the level of L2 command of the learner (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982), it is important that research begins to examine teachers' perceptions of errors in L2 learning and acquisition.

Purpose of the Study

Empirical studies in the area of teacher perceptions of the role of errors in L2 are severely lacking (Hendrickson, 1977a). The present study examines prevailing views on the role of errors and on error correction held by teachers and other school-related personnel interfacing with the L2 learner. Two questions guided the present study:

(1) Do teachers of second language learners perceive erors in L2 more positively than other school-related personnel?

(2) Are there differences in the perceptions of errors among teachers in bilingual classrooms, in ESL classrooms, and in traditional classrooms where English is the medium of instruction?

Methodology

Instrumentation and Sampling

The Error Perception Inventory (EPI) was administrered to a sample of 87 inservice school personnel (i.e., 69 teachers and 18 other school-related personnel) pursuing training at the graduate level. Thirty-five were bilingual and 52 monolingual participants. The EPI is a 15-item Likert-type scale which measures the degree of awareness regarding the pedagogical value of errors in developing L2 competence/performance as well as general attitudes towards error correction (refer to the Appendix).

Procedure

The present study employed a 2 x 3 factorial design with Teaching Status and type of Classroom as independent variables. Teaching status was comprised of teachers and non-teachers, while Type of classroom included bilingual, ESL, and traditional classrooms. When warranted, the Newman-Kuels procedure was used to examine multiple comparisons.

Results

Table 1 presents the results of a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) by Teaching Status and by Type of Classroom. The results of the ANOVA disclosed that there was a significant difference between the 3 types of classrooms surveyed ($F = 3.i51$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). Teaching status, however, does not show a significant effect ($f = 2.34$, $df = 3$, $p > .05$). Interation between these two factors was not significant ($f = .77$, $df = 2$, $p > .05$).

Table 1

ANOVA Summary

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F
Teaching Status	3.60	1	3.60	0.10
Type of Classroom	247.76	2	123.88	3.51*
A X B	54.44	2	27.22	0.77
Error	2291.24	65	35.25	
Total	2593.44	70	37.05	

*$p < .05$

In addition, the Newman-Keuls procedure was used as a post hoc analysis. Results suggest that teachers of ESL (M-52.86) are significantly ($p < .05$) more aware of the positive role of errors in the L2 process than teachers in bilingual classrooms ($M = 47.82$).

Table 2
Results of the Newman-Keuls Procedure

Means	ESL	Traditional (TRA)	Bilingual (BIL)	Shortest Significant Ranges
	53.86	50.84	47.82	
ESL = 52.86			5.04*	4.16
TRA = 50.84				
BIL = 47.82				

*$p < .05$

Discussion

The above findings indicate that teachers generally have a better attitude toward L2 errors than other school personnel. However, teachers who are bilingual and who teach in bilingual classrooms are not more aware of the useful role of errors in L2 learning/acquisition than teachers who are in ESL or traditional classrooms.

There are several inferences that can be argued. First, it appears that having gone through the experience of developing L2, it is not in itself an assurance that the speaker will understand the totality of the process. This finding may imply that formal training in language processes may be necessary for teachers to have a full understanding of the variables intervening in successful L2 development, in particular the viability of L2 errors. The present study further suggests that bilingual teachers or teachers in traditional classrooms, where L2 learners have been mainstreamed, need to redirect their teaching and testing strategies to include dealing with L2 errors more effectively.

Secondly, the findings imply that steps should be taken in teacher training programs to include more material on the nature of language errors

and their place in L2 acquisition and learning. Three important issues regarding error correction seem particularly fit for inclusion: (1) Which type of error should be corrected?, (2) How should errors be corrected?, and (3) When should errors be corrected? Vandergrift (1986), for example, states that a distinction between oral production and written performance should be made as uncorrected writing errors may become fossilized. This may be explained by considering the benefits of error correction more directly related to the development of language competence than to oral language performance (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982). Furthermore, only those errors which impede oral communication or stigmatize the learner should deserve the attention of the language teacher (Burt and Kiparsky, 1972; Ludwig, 1982; Murphy, 1986). Burt (1975) further argues that limiting correction to this type of error increases the self-confidence and motivation of the L2 learner.

As to how teachers should correct errors, indirect techniques such as expansion or systematic modeling of the correct utterance seem to be favored by L2 researchers (Hendrickson, 1976k 1977b; Lott, 1983). In addition, the roles of self-correction (Smith, 1982) and peer correction (Murphy, 1986) have been cited as powerful sources to error remediation in the L2 classroom. Very few techniques, however, have been empirically tested, therefore, research findings at the present time remain inconclusive (Chenoweth, Day, Chun & Luppescu, 1984). There seems to be consensus among researchers as to when errors should be brought to the attention of the learner (Burt, 1985; Lantolf, 1977; Terrell, 1977). Hendrickson (1980) suggests that it is more important to communicate successfully than perfectly in L2. In addition, Ludwig (1982) argues that communication should not be sacrificed in favor of formal accuracy. Therefore, it is safe to assume that it is pedagogically sound to refrain from correcting all errors all the time as this technique may prove inhibiting to the L2 learner (Weaver, 1982).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering that the language minority population is increasing at a faster rate than the general populus (U.S. Census, 1980), it is imperative that teachers become cognizant of the central role of errors in the L2 process and how to successfully deal with the issue in the language classroom. Additionally, teachers need to realize that error-free performance of the native speaker is an idealization rather than a reality and that one must take into account the demoralizing effects of unrealistic teacher expectations (Green & Hecht, 1985). Teachers, for example, must be aware that most errors made by second language learners are: (1) systematic, (2) developmental, (3) related to errors made generally by L1 learners and not

necessarily related to interference from the native language of the learner, and (4) important in providing information about language acquisition and instruction (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982).

Teachers of second language learners need to realize that a student learning a second language is in the process of constructing a new language system and that this occurs through the process of testing hypotheses about the new language system. Consequently, errors should be perceived as evidence of a transitional stage in language construction. Teachers must know how to deal with error correction in the classroom, when to provide grammatical explanations, and how to use errors in designing materials and curricula. Furthermore, while overcoming errors might be an important step in increasing language proficiency, the ultimate goal of second language learning is the attainment of communication in the language (Brown, 1980).

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APPENDIX

ERROR PERCEPTION INVENTORY

Rate these items using the following scale:

1=STRONGLY DISAGREE
2=DISAGREE
3=NO OPINION
4=AGREE
5=STRONGLY AGREE

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Errors should be corrected immediately.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. An error is always an indication of lack of knowledge.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Most errors result from language interference.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Correcting students' errors helps them improve their language abilities.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. In actuality, errors serve as a diagnostic tool of language fluency.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. "Practice makes perfect."	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. A number of errors cannot be traced to the student's first language.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Overgeneralization is an example of interference from the first language	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

9. Only those errors which hinder communication should be corrected. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

10. Errors are self-corrected with time. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

11. Errors occur only at earlier stages of language development. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

1 = STRONGLY DISAGREE
2 = DISAGREE
3 = NO OPINION
4 = AGREE
5 = STRONGLY AGREE

	1	2	3	4	5
12. The nature of the task increases the frequency of errors.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
13. The environment in which language takes place can increase errors.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
14. Personality characteristics can influence the frequency of errors.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
15. Students' awareness of their own errors decrease their frequency.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

PLEASE MARK ONE:

---

16. Language background:
bilingual ( )
monolingual ( )
other ( )

17. Ethnic background:
- Anglo ( )
- Hispanic ( )
- Black ( )
- Oriental ( )
- Other ( )

18. Professional background:
- teacher ( )
- other ( )

19. If teacher (choose the major teaching area):
- ESL ( )
- bilingual ( )
- regular ( )

20. Years of teaching experience:
- 0-5 ( )
- 6-10 ( )
- 11-15 ( )
- Over 15 years ( )
- Not applicable ( )

21. Teaching level:
- Elementary ( )
- Secondary ( )
- Other ( )

TESTING THE TRANSFER PARADIGM IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING: THE CASE OF SPELLING SKILLS

Flora V. Rodriguez-Brown

This study examines the transfer hypothesis in second language acquisition in the specific area of spelling skills. Data collected from high school students learning Spanish as a second language show that in general, performance in English spelling is the best predictor of performance in Spanish spelling. When good and poor spellers are separated, the data show that good spellers favor visual and/or context related strategies to spell both in Spanish and English. Poor spellers, in contrast, favor a decoding strategy. The data show that transfer of spelling strategies occurs between the first and second language of the students. The study opens up new issues for exploration, such as how to facilitate the transfer of skills from L1 to L2 in good spellers while enhancing the use of alternative skills in poor spellers.

A major assumption made in bilingual education is that skills acquired in one language will transfer to another. Without transfer there would be little practical application of bilingualism to the school setting. The use of the native language in content areas as well as in early reading are theoretically based in the transfer paradigm. If transfer could not be assumed, the practical application of bilingual education would be very limited, since skills learned in one language would have to be relearned in another.

Intralingual transfer studies were done as early as 1913, when Thorndike hypothesized that practice in memorizing French vocabulary would facilitate memorization of chemical formulas. In this instance transfer was defined as the "application of knowledge to a hitherto unexperienced situation" (Gibson & Levin, 1975, p. 69). Transfer is also assumed in the theory of "common underlying proficiency" posited by Cummins (1980). He proposes that all language learners have an underlying language proficiency which facilitates the transfer of skills from one language to another.

Further evidence for the transfer paradigm comes from research on the acquisition of a new language by students. For example, Cummins (1980) has found that children who arrive in this country already having acquired good literacy skills in their native languages can exit bilingual programs faster than those children who begin the new languages and do not have developed L1

literacy skills. Other studies have supported this hypothesis (Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Ramirez & Politzer, 1978). Those students who have already native-language proficiency in school- related skills (e.g., reading, writing, discourse) seem to transfer these skills rapidly to English and are, therefore, able to move out of bilingual programs as soon as they know enough English to handle an all-English curriculum. In a review of 25 studies using the vernacular as the medium of instruction, Engle (1973) found that there appeared to be a transfer of skills from one language to another. It appears that younger students do not have enough native-language literacy skills and must acquire these as well as English when they enter school. Because they have fewer skills to transfer, younger children generally spend more time in bilingual programs acquiring skills that older children already have mastered in their native language.

Problem

The study hypothesized that if transfer exists, it becomes evident in specific skills. The specific skill investigated in this study was spelling ability. It was further hypothesized that students who have good spelling skills in English should demonstrate these skills in Spanish. If there is no correlation between skills in one language and skills in another, then the transfer paradigm must be rejected, at least in the area of spelling.

There is no literature on the subject of spelling skills as they relate to transfer. There is, however, some literature on the strategies that children use in spelling (Nolen & McCartin, 1984). Other literature discusses the relationship between visual and auditory retention (Farnham-Diggony & Simon, 1975), as well as between spelling and higher-order phonological knowledge (Templeton 1979). Other researchers have looked at the errors made by native Spanish speakers in spelling Spanish words, but did not relate their studies to spelling in English.

To some extent, therefore, this study explores new ground in the area of spelling in first and second languages, as well as in the area of transfer of specific skills from one language to another. It is hoped that further studies will be done and that the transfer hypothesis will be supported for other skills as well.

Method

Subjects

The subjects for the study were 84 students (56 girls and 28 boys) who were native speakers of English learning Spanish as a foreign language. The students were taking Spanish I, which was the first level of Spanish offered at the school. The study was done during the second trimester of the school year. The students consequently had some knowledge of Spanish orthography and phonology but were not proficient in either.

The students were attending Grades 7 through 12 in an urban magnet high school with a junior high component consisting of academically gifted students. The school is in a midwestern city. Although subjects were not randomly selected, it was hoped that the sample size (N=84) and the heterogeneity of ages (from 11 to 17 years old) would eliminate some of the bias caused by non-random selection. Admission to the magnet school was based on test scores, prior achievement in school, and racial quota. Therefore, the subjects used in this study would tend to have better skills than subjects selected from a regular urban high school. The sample was 88.1% black and 11.9% white.

Students were divided into two groups, according to their performance on an English spelling test given to them as part of the study. Upon consultation with the teacher, it was decided that students correctly answering over 70% would be considered good spellers while those scoring below 70% would be considered poor spellers.

The group of good spellers had 45 students (15 boys and 30 girls) and the group of the poor spellers had 39 students (13 boys and 26 girls). Table 1 shows the breakdown of students by grade level for the total sample and for the groups of good and poor spellers.

TABLE 1

BREAKDOWN BY GRADE-LEVEL OF TOTAL SAMPLE AND GROUPS

	Total Sample (N=84)		Good Spellers (n=45)		Poor Speller (n=39)	
Grade	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
7	21	25.0	6	13.3	15	38.
8	2	2.4	2	24.4	0	0.
9	39	46.4	23	51.1	16	41.
10	7	8.3	4	8.9	3	7.
11	13	15.5	9	20.0	4	10.
12	2	2.4	1	2.2	1	2.

Procedure

All of the students were initially given an English spelling test with words chosen from the New Iowa Spelling Scale (Green, 1954). The words chosen were those which had an accuracy level of less than 50% at the eighth grade level. It was felt that, because the sample included students from the 7th and 8th grades as well as from the 9th to 12th grades, these words would be the most appropriate for all students. A list of the words used in this and the two subsequent tests can be found in Table 2.

TABLE 2

ITEMS IN THE THREE SPELLING TESTS

English Test	Cognate Test	Spanish Test
Accommodate	Acomodar	El Profesor
Accustom	Acostumbrar	El Escritorio
Analysis	Analisis	Guapo
Approximate	Aproximado	Viejo
Cathedral	Catedral	El Papel
Colonel	Coronel	El Libro
Condemn	Condenar	La Mesa
Correspond	Corresponder	La Silla
Descend	Descender	El Estudiante
Distinguish	Distinguir	La Clase
Elaborate	Elaborado	La Pluma
Enthusiasm	Entusiasmo	El Cuaderno
Existence	Existencia	Bajo
Guarantee	Garantia	Simpatico
Immortal	Immoral	El Lapiz
Inevitable	Inevitable	Feo
Majesty	Majestad	Inteligente
Precious	Precioso	Joven
Privilege	Privilegio	Tonto
Psychology	Psicologia	La Profesora
Receipt	Recibo	El Alumno
Ridiculous	Ridiculo	La Alumna
Separate	Separado	Malo
Substitute	Sustituir	

The discrimination indices for the English spelling test ranged from .30 to .65 indicating that the test discriminated well between good and poor spellers. Discrimination indices are determined by the scores of students as they relate to correct and incorrect items. A range of .30 to .65 indicates that good spellers (students with high scores) tended to get the same items correct while poor spellers got the same items incorrect.

The reliability coefficient or alpha for the English spelling test was .90. The highest possible value for alpha is 1.0 indicating that the test correlates perfectly. An alpha of .90, therefore, demonstrates that the test has high

internal consistency or homogeneity. Using the Spearman-Brown test for equal- and unequal-length tests, the reliability coefficient was .89, again indicating that the test homogeneously measures spelling ability and that it demonstrates consistency throughout. It was felt, therefore, because of the discrimination indices and the alpha and Spearman-Brown reliability estimates that the English spelling test was reliable, discriminating well between good and poor spellers and reliably measuring spelling ability.

The measures used for Spanish were: 1) a spelling test consisting of Spanish cognates of the words given on the English spelling test, and 2) a Spanish vocabulary test in which words were given in English and students produced the Spanish equivalents. The alpha for the cognates test was .91, discrimination indices ranged from .30 to .80, and Spearman-Brown for both equal- and unequal-length tests was .90. The Spanish cognates test, therefore, seemed to discriminate as well as the English measure.

The English spelling test was given to the students without warning during a regular class period. One week later the Spanish cognates were presented, and students were given an opportunity to see these prior to being tested on them. They were not, however, asked to study the cognates. Finally, a regular Spanish vocabulary test was chosen at random from among the quizzes given throughout the trimester. This test had been given prior to the English and Spanish-Cognate measures.

Following each test, students were asked to write the strategies that they had used to spell the words on the test, listing them in order of importance. No strategies were suggested to them, nor was a limit given to the number of strategies that could be listed. Strategies were then categorized as either visual, phonetic, or contextual.

Data Analysis

The data analysis described here includes the following variables: English spelling test (English), Cognate test (Cognate), Spanish vocabulary test (Spanish), first English strategy (Engstrat1), second English strategy (Engstrat2), first Spanish strategy (Spastrat1), second Spanish strategy (Spastrat2), grade, and sex.

Pearson correlations between the three tests (English, Cognate and Spanish) were calculated. These correlations were done for the sample as a whole and for the groups of good spellers and poor spellers individually.

Pearson correlations were also calculated between each test and the first and second strategies per language (English and Spanish) used and reported by the students as part of the procedure.

Subsequently, stepwise regression analyses were done introducing individually the variables Cognate and Spanish as dependent variables. Independent variables included English, Engstrat1, Engstrat2, Spastrat1, Spastrat2, sex, and grade, as well as the test variables (Cognate or Spanish) when not used as dependent variables. These analyses were done for the whole sample and for the groups individually. The purpose of these analyses was to find out which variable entered the equation first, and consequently accounted for most of the variance. Thus it would be possible to explain the effects of the variables in the equation on the dependent variable in explaining students' performance on the spelling tests.

Table 3 shows the mean scores and standard deviations for the whole sample, the good spellers, and the poor spellers on each of the three tests administered (English, Cognate, and Spanish).

TABLE 3

MEAN TEST SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR TOTAL SAMPLE AND GROUPS

Group	M	SD
English Test		
Total (N=84)	66.66	24.17
Good Spellers (n=45)	85.15	7.84
Poor Spellers (n=39)	45.33	18.26
Cognate Test		
Total (N=84)	64.96	27.11
Good Spellers (n=45)	76.71	18.33
Poor Spellers (n=39)	51.05	29.38
Spanish Test		
Total (N=84)	85.74	17.44
Good Spellers (n=45)	88.97	15.07
Poor Spellers (n=39)	81.91	19.39

The data show that good spellers did significantly better than the poor spellers in each of the three tests given. This seems to show that spelling skill in the first language is a good predictor of spelling performance in a second language. Rodriguez-Brown and Budinsky (1987) show that this relationship is related to the transfer of successful spelling strategies from the first to the second language. Their data show that while poor spellers use primarily a decoding/oral-memorization strategy (i.e., sound out words) for spelling in their native language, good spellers tend to report the use of visual or context/ meaning-related strategies. Since decoding strategies are considered less mature than visual or context-related strategies (Radebaugh, 1985), the different use of strategies reported by the two groups may explain, at least in part, the difference in the spelling performances of good and poor spellers.

The fact that all the students performed similarly, within the expectations for each group, on the English and Cognate tests may be explained by the fact that the cognate words were similar in structure to the English words. The Spanish test scores were higher for both groups because of a study effect. The students did not study for the English test, only saw the cognates in the Cognate test, but studied for the Spanish test (which was a quiz given in the Spanish class).

Table 4 shows the Pearson correlations between the different variables studied and their significance levels.

TABLE 4

PEARSON CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT VARIABLES WITH TWO-TAILED SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS

	Total Sample (N=84)		Good Spellers (n=45)		Poor Spell (n=39)	
Variables	r	p	r	p	r	p
Correlations between tests						
English/Cognate	.574	.000*	.361	.015*	.378	.018*
English/Spanish	.386	.000*	.241	.110	.410	.010*
Cognate/Spanish	.315	.004*	.455	.002*	.128	.437
Correlations between spelling strategies in English and Spanis						
Engstrat1/Spastrat1	.267	.014*	.481	.001*	-.073	.659
Engstrat2/Spastrat2	.389	.000*	.355	.017*	.454	.004*

*means significance level < .05

This table shows that significant and positive correlations between the test scores occurred for the whole sample. However, when the groups were analyzed separately no significant correlation ($r = .241$, $p < .110$) occurred between the English and the Spanish tests for the good spellers. In other words, doing well in English spelling did not necessarily mean performing well in the Spanish test. This was true even though the students were using the same strategies, as shown by the significant positive correlations between the English and Spanish strategies reported by this particular group ($r = .481$, $p < .001$ and $r = .355$, $p < .017$ for first and second strategies, respectively). It appears that factors other than strategies used affected the transfer of skills from English to Spanish for this group of students. This will become apparent when the regression analyses are discussed.

In the case of poor spellers, significant correlations occurred between the English and Cognate and between the English and Spanish tests. This shows that doing poorly in English meant performing poorly in Spanish. These students performed much better on the Spanish test than on the English test, but this may be due to the effect of studying. Studying may have produced a change in strategy when spelling on the Spanish test. The fact that the correlation between the first strategies in Spanish (Spastrat1) and English (Engstrat1) ($r = -.073$, $p < .659$) is negative and nonsignificant suggests a change in strategy leading to a much better performance on the Spanish test than on the English test.

The fact that no significant correlation existed between the Cognate and Spanish test scores for the poor spellers group is also related to a study effect. Poor spellers performed significantly better on the Spanish test than on the Cognate test as shown in Table 2. It is possible that through studying the students developed alternative strategies to spell well in Spanish while still using their English spelling strategies on the Cognates test. Presumably, this was due to the similarity of Spanish cognates to English words. Since the correlation between Engstrat1 and Spastrat1 is negative and nonsignificant for poor spellers, factors other than the transfer of strategies must have helped poor spellers develop better spelling skills in the second language as demonstrated by their performance in the Spanish test.

In the regression analysis Cognate and Spanish were used as dependent variables. The analysis using the Cognate test as the dependent variable for the whole sample shows that the only variable which entered the equation and accounted for the variance was English ($df = 1/82$, $f = 40.28$, $p < .000$). As such, the best predictor of performance on the Cognate test for the whole sample was the student's ability to spell in English. When looking at the

groups separately, the best predictor of performance by good spellers on the Cognate test was their performance on the Spanish test (df-1/43, f=11.24, p<.0017). This is further supported by the significant correlation found between the Cognate and Spanish variables (r=.455, p<.002). As explained earlier, this relationship may imply positive transfer of skills whereby good spellers strengthened their skills by accommodating to the linguistic differences between the languages used and previous knowledge to enhance their spelling ability by using similar strategies in both the Cognate and Spanish tests. For the poor spellers, though, English scores explained 37% of the variance (df=1/37,f=6.16,p<.0177) on the Cognate test. Apparently the ability and strategies used to spell in the first language were carried over to the spelling of Spanish Cognate words, which look very much like English words.

When explaining performance in the Spanish test for the whole sample, the variables English, Engstrat1 and Spastrat1 entered the equation and accounted for 51% of the variance explained. These variables are the best predictors of performance on the Spanish test. For good spellers, the best predictors of performance on the Spanish test were Cognate (f=11.24, df=1/43, p<.0017) and Spastrat 1 (f=9.089, f=2/42, p<.0005). Since the Cognate test was the hardest test for the whole sample according to test scores in table 3, a good score on this test predicted good spelling skills. The results of the cognate test are relevant in explaining the transfer of spelling skills. Cognate words have structural similarities to English words which facilitated the transfer of spelling skills from English to Spanish, especially for the good spellers. For poor spellers the regression analysis shows that Engstrat1 (for most of this group a decoding strategy) explained 46.5% of the variance (df=1/37, f=10.25, p<.0028) in the Spanish test together with performance on the English test (df=2/36, f=8.729, p<.0008). It appears that studying facilitated the development of strategies for spelling Spanish. Still, memorization by the sounding-out of words seems to be the most common strategy used by poor spellers. The use of a decoding strategy to memorize was facilitated by the fact that it was the major strategy used by this group to spell in English and it transferred easily to spelling in Spanish. Their performance on the English test also helped to predict the performance of these students on the Spanish test. In this case, their poor performance on the Spanish test when compared with the group of good spellers can be explained in part by their poor performance on the spelling test in English.

Conclusions

In this paper we investigated the transfer of skills from the native to a second language by looking at spelling skills across languages. High school students taking Spanish as a foreign language were given three spelling tests to determine their spelling ability not only in English but in the second language. The results of the English spelling test were used to group students as good or poor spellers. Subsequently, students were given a test of cognates and a vocabulary test in Spanish.

The data collected show that good English spellers performed significantly better than poor English spellers on the Spanish tests. Although poor spellers performed much better on the vocabulary test in Spanish than on the English test, they were still outperformed by the good spellers.

Correlations between tests for the whole sample and the two groups separately were significant except for that between the Cognate and Spanish tests for poor spellers. This shows the effect that studying had on the performance of the poor spellers. While correlations between Spanish and English strategies were significant for the whole sample and for the good spellers, the correlation between the first strategies in Spanish and English was negative and nonsignificant. For some poor spellers, studying may cause the use of different strategies in Spanish than in English. This would help explain their improved performance on the Spanish test. This explanation is supported by another study of metacognitive strategies used for spelling by the same subjects (Rodriguez-Brown and Budinsky, 1987), where the data showed that the two groups used different strategies. The poor spellers used more decoding (sound-out) strategies while good spellers reported the use of visual (write-down) or contextual (meaning) strategies.

The relationships between scores on the different tests demonstrate that skills are transferred from the native language to the second language. Further exploration of the effects of previous knowledge on spelling performance in a second language shows that the similarity of cognate words to English words made English scores the best predictor of Cognate scores for the whole sample. For the good spellers, though, Spanish test scores were the best predictors of performance on the Cognate test. It could be that this group did not relate the cognate words to English but to Spanish and that this awareness made them adapt strategies accordingly. In the case of the poor spellers, English spelling scores were the best predictors of performance on the Cognate test. Since they did poorly on the English test, they did

poorly on the Cognate test.

In the case of Spanish vocabulary, English test scores and strategies in English and Spanish predicted performance on the Spanish test for the whole sample. For the good spellers, Cognate test scores and Spanish strategies contributed the most to explaining performance on the Spanish test. For the poor spellers, it was English strategies and English test scores which best predicted their performance on the Spanish test.

In terms of spelling, transfer of skills seems to occur between the native and second language. This transfer could have positive effects on the performance of good spellers, but it shows negative effects in poor spellers.

This study has implications for explaining the role and nature of the transfer of specific skills from a native to a second language. It opens up new issues for exploration, such as how to facilitate the transfer of positive skills from L1 to L2 while taking into account that, for poor spellers, transfer may not enhance L2 learning. Opportunities to learn new, positive strategies should be enhanced to improve performance in second language learning. Though teaching through transfer of skills is a good idea, not all strategies should be transferred. Individual differences in skills and strategies should not be overlooked, particularly when students are trained to transfer previous skills and strategies to a new situation.

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CONDUCTING AND EVALUATING ORAL TESTS IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Barbara Gonzalez-Pino

Recent emphasis on teaching for oral proficiency in students have made it necessary for teachers to develop effective and practical means of testing and documenting their students' oral progress in a second language. In devising an effective evaluation program there are many factors for the teacher to consider. Among these are format, length, criteria for grading, and weighting of the criteria. This paper presents an overview of the various factors and options apparent in the literature, and also outlines a program of testing speaking. This program has been implemented and modified for the past six years. Exact procedures are described, and a sample rating scale is provided. References, sample testing materials, and recommendations for further research are included.

Second language professionals have long recognized the importance of the development of speaking skill in their students. Since the Army Language Program of World War II a variety of approaches have been tried. It is only with the advent of the oral proficiency-oriented approach that there has been a major effort to test, evaluate, and document the progress in speaking skills. Testing speaking skill has been difficult for a variety of reasons. In cases of large numbers of students there has been little time to do regular periodic one-to-one testing. Further, the speaking skill, more than any other skill or knowledge area, is difficult to grade because the performance is integrative and fleeting. Finally, there has been uncertainty on how to test.

It has been recognized that at this time there is extensive information about the Oral Proficiency Interview test used by the government, and formulated for academic use by the American Council on Teaching Foreign Languages and the Educational Testing Service. However, it can be readily seen that this test is not appropriate or feasible for periodic testing during a semester. It requires too much time and it does not provide small units of specific information about student progress. Other possibilities are available now. The frameworks developed by Krashen and Terrell (1983), and by Omaggio (1983, 1986) have facilitated progress in oral communication testing. The work of the Foreign Service Institute, the Educational Testing Service, and the American Council on Teaching foreign Languages has added to the measurement of oral production progress.

A brief review of the literature reveals a variety of approaches to administer proficiency-oriented achievement tests of speaking skills. Such tests can be taped or live face-to-face interviews (Valdman, 1981) focusing on interactive format and situation role plays. They can comprise picture-based and topic- based speaking tasks (Linder, 1977) which are appropriate for measuring non-interactive speaking skills. There are a variety of approaches to score such tests, although most schemes studied are based on a fixed limited set of weighted criteria. According to Higgs and Clifford (1981), the most significant criteria for early learner-acquirers of a language are knowledge of vocabulary and grammar. Fluency and pronunciation are of less importance.

The review of the literature includes the references used to develop a program of oral testing. This paper presents the testing guidelines developed and an assessment of the success of their implementation. A significant number of teachers have been trained to use the speaking-testing via workshops and graduate courses. This has provided an opportunity for teachers to provide input and therefore, modify these oral testing guidelines.

The Syllabus

The first step in initiating such a program is to fit the oral testing into the "course-grade" portion of the unit plan or syllabus along with the other elements of the evaluation system. Of particular interest here is the relationship of the speaking test to other elements of testing. The program for first-year language includes: 1) three oral tests, each 10% of the course grade, 2) three written tests, each 10% of the course grade, 3) four other items at 10% each and 4) workbooks, homework, quizzes and oral practices. The written tests comprise listening comprehension (30%), reading comprehension (15%), vocabulary (20%), grammar (10%), and composition (15%).

Test Format

The second step in initiating the program is to design the oral test format. Oral class activities are used as the pool of test items. For example, if between testing sessions the students have several interviews and engage in roleplaying activities, then, short oral reports, picture-description activities, personal questions, situation descriptions, pictures and report topics can become the actual test items. The students receive copies of the cue lists of cards for all the personal questions and situations. They also receive a set of

the pictures and a list of the topic descriptions which they have used during the class activity phase. These materials are used to practice with their fellow students during class time, to study individually or in pairs, and to prepare for class. For the oral test the instructor cuts up all the items into individual cards which are placed in a bag or box. Students draw a card from the bag and perform accordingly. This approach allows students to become familiar with the format and the teacher does not have to create new test material. Therefore, students are disposed to participate wholeheartedly in oral activities in class and to review their oral materials.

Students performing in pairs can draw two interview cards or two situation cards per pair, and are instructed to conduct a total of three exchanges per student for each situation. Thus, the teacher is grading six lines per individual. Students working individually are instructed to say six things about their topics/picture and for consistency are graded on three lines each. The teacher reads to each student his/her card if non- reader. Students can choose their own partners or work with one assigned by the teacher. (See the Appendix for examples of the material used.) A key factor in this approach is that students speak, and teachers evaluate therefore, much time is saved. A class of thirty students can accomplish a testing performance in one and one-half hours.

The teacher must also decide how this production is to be graded. Consistency is important. The process is somewhat subjective; but by having a well-defined, consistent approach to grading, the instructor can minimize subjectivity. A standard or teacher made rating scale can be used. The scale should reflect the relative value or weight of each criterion. Most scales for first year language look something like the following:

Name:_____Date:_____Score:_____

Notes:

1. Communication Is the utterance suited to the communicative purpose? Is the student talking about the right thing? Can he/she say <u>something</u>? Does he/she understand the partner?	40 36 32 28 24 20
2. Accuracy (grammatical correctness)	20 18 16 14 12 10
3. Fluency (flow vs. hesitation)	10 8 6 4 2 0
4. Vocabulary (adequate vs. inadequate)	20 18 16 14 12 10
5. Pronunciation (good to bad)	10 8 6 4 2 0

The instructor decides how to score. If a student misses one utterance completely, the instructor determines how many points the flaw is worth and lowers the maximum possible score. Each instructor has to make equivalent decisions. The scale can be modified for each succeeding semester's work. As students progress, a different set of criteria and/or a different relative weighting system may be used.

In addition to circling a number in each category after the student's performance, the teacher may want to keep notes. These notes prove useful for error analysis and self correction. A copy of the grading slip with comments from the teacher can be given to the student .

A variety of approaches have been tried for administering the test. The teacher must decide whether to test live or to grade taped material. There are advantages to both approaches. Tape testing can be done by individuals or pairs while the teacher conducts class. Students tend to be less nervous about performing for a tape recorder than for the teacher. Testing live goes more rapidly and does not require time away from school for grading. It is

easier to understand the performance, and there is no danger of mishap or of tape/machine failure. Further, the teacher is available to help in case of break-down, so the test can continue. Testing live can be done during a written test or during individual reading/writing activity time when the students are otherwise occupied. Students, meet with the teacher individually, in pairs, or in small groups. A larger group can test together even more rapidly. The students simply ask/answer in a clockwise rotation until all of the material they need to be evaluated on has been completed. Oral testing over given material can precede or follow the written test. Testing time and location is arbitrary. Time constraints frequently limit testing to one and one-half class hours. The amount of material/activities to be covered for the semester must be adjusted to allow time for the inclusion of this important testing.

Conclusions

In an era when oral work is a large component of second language study, oral testing is necessary for evaluating student performance. Students tend to dismiss oral activities if the material or skill is not evaluated. In addition, in order to be pedagogically correct, the material taught must be tested. In response to both student interests, and curricular and real-life requirements the development of the speaking skill must be emphasized. An effective approach to evaluating student progress toward that goal needs to be identified and implemented.

Students have responded favorably to the oral-proficiency emphasis and to speaking tests. Students have centered their second language goals on oral production instruction and they appreciate teaching and evaluation processes that are congruent with their own goals. Younger students delight in demonstrating their ability to communicate orally successfully. The more reticent older ones overcome their fears, and are bolstered and made proud by their successes. They give the impression of being satisfied with the procedure described here, finding it related to classwork. Moreover, they appear to be satisfied with the grading procedure and the results generated. Students seem to be accomplishing more in terms of acquisition of the speaking skill and the ability to use it in real-life situations. Overall, the results of the implementation of this approach to testing oral production appear to be satisfactory.

Implications

It is evident that there is a need for further comparative research. The literature on proficiency-oriented testing to date is largely descriptive, explaining the ways in which this task is being accomplished by a variety of professionals in the field. This article adds to that body of informaiton by describing a particular field-tested approach that is especially tailored to facilitate fair, effective, frequent and time-efficient speaking testing.

A variety of useful input on apparently effective ways to test speaking in the classroom is at our disposal. Therefore, there is no longer any excuse for failing to honor the sound pedagogical given that we must test what we teach and teach what we test. Speaking is an early and significant focus in the acquisition of a second language and thus, also in testing of the second-language.

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APPENDIX

INTERACTIVE FORMATS FOR TWO SPEAKERS

Interview Cards

Example: The family. [theme at various levels (3 exchanges)]

I. 1. How many people are there in your family?

2. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

3. What do your parents do?

II. 1. Who reads the most in your family?

2. What does he/she like to read?

3. How many hours a week does he/she read?

III. 1. Where did your family come from originally?

2. When did they come here?

3. In what parts of the country do you have family today?

IV. 1. What is the significance of the family?

2. How do you think your family has changed in the U.S.?

3. What do you think will happen to the family?

Situation Cards

Example: Shopping.[theme at various levels (3 exchanges)]

I. You go into a variety store. Greet the clerk and ask where the notebooks are. Ask the price and then buy one.

You are a clerk in a variety store. Greet your customer and offer to help him/her. Find out what he/she wants, show it to

him/her, and tell him/her the price. Take the money, thank him/her and say goodbye.

II. You go into a variety store to buy a gift for your neighbor's birthday. You have seven dollars to spend on her. Explain the occasion, and ask the clerk what she suggests. You do not want clothing or books.

You are a clerk in a variety store. Your customer wants a gift for a girl. You suggest a blouse first. Later you suggest a book. Finally you suggest earrings and records. Give the price for each item you suggest.

III. You go to a dress store to return a dress you bought for your mother that does not fit and that has a spot on it. You want your money back.

You are a clerk in a dress store. Your customer wants to return a dress. You suggest exchanging the dress because your manager does not allow refunds.

IV. You go into a computer store to buy a unit that will let you handle your income taxes, your family budget and your insurance inventories. Ask about the features available and the prices.

You are a clerk in a computer store. Find out what your client wants, and discuss different types of equipment and features. Discuss prices and arrange an appointment for a demonstration session for the client.

INDIVIDUAL SPEAKER FORMATS

Topics for Elaboration

Example: Schooling. [a topic at different levels]

I. Describe in six or more sentences your school, the number of students, and courses you take at different hours.

II. In six or more sentences, tell about your schooling up to this point; where you attended, what you studied, what successes you had.

III. In six or more sentences, explain the standard school curriculum at your level, what it comprises, and why each element is included.

IV. In six or more sentences, cite what is wrong with U.S. public education and what should be done to improve it.

Pictures for Elaboration

Examples: A color picture of a man and a woman. They are talking and are seated around the table, which is in a fully furnished room with a winter landscape visible. [a topic at different levels]

I. In six sentences tell what you see in the picture: people, objects in the room, colors, etc.

II. In six or more sentences tell what is going on in the picture; what is the occasion ,what are the people talking about, and where are they.

III. In six or more sentences make up a story about the people in the picture. Tell who they are, where they found some of the objects, what happened to them for several hours before this scene, and what they are discussing and planning.

IV. In six or more sentences analyze the composition of the picture: how it could be arranged for more effective use of color, more effective use of the furniture and other objects, for more comfort, etc.

THE COMPETENCY TESTING MINE FIELD: VALIDATION, LEGAL AND ETHICAL ISSUES WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR MINORITIES

Peter A. Garcia

A genuine concern for the condition of education in the United States has lead to the misuse of standardized tests to measure quality. Standardized tests have been used for purposes of admission, advancement, merit, graduation and certification contrary to research findings and test developer guidelines. The current use of tests has resulted in the disastrous exclusion of ethnic minorities into the mainstream of society. Flawed validation processes used in test validation have resulted in gross misapplication of standardized tests with serious consequences for the U.S.

There is a genuine concern on the part of the U.S. people about the preparation and effectiveness of teachers in the Nation's schools. In response to this concern, the current teacher reform movement continues to escalate at a rate that challenges the extent to which a complete monitoring system can be devised. The national concern about the condition of public education has generated steadfast support for accountability in the education establishment.

Innumerable studies and surveys adequately describe the condition of education in America offering a wide range of probable solutions (Peterson et al., 1986). The increased use of standardized tests for assessment purposes and as a means to filter out incompetence from the teacher ranks, has resulted in a bonanza for test developers as the quest for quality education continues. Since 1980, the numbers and varying types of examinations developed, redesigned or modified, or relabled that are in current use, have multiplied in a competitive supply and demand market which is suspect of seeking to exact profits and political gains in the name of educational excellence. The rapid increase in test use has not abated even though researchers and text developers have consistently cited the limited capacity of standardized tests to predict on-the-job performance. This is indicative of the misconception the general public and professionals have about the accuracy of assessment of current tests and their potential to predict how someone will perform in a selected occupation.

Legally accepted strategies used by test validators to satisfy validation criteria on standardized examinations have been criticized sharply by

researchers because of how tests are used (Garcia, 1986). Test scores have been used improperly as sole criteria to prevent those who score low on examinations from admission into career professions and occupational preparation pipelines. Findings consistently reveal serious discrepancies between what tests are designed to measure and their ultimate use. The inconsistent relationship between ineffective test validation strategies and the actual use of test scores makes costly validation efforts a questionable practice. For example, misuse of a test can be illustrated when a test would be designed to measure basic skills, then used to evaluate a football coach whose success rests with winning football games. There is no denying the importance of a football coach with an earned teaching certificate having a need for basic skills. The contradiction is that we are in a period when coaches are being dismissed due to low scores on basic skills tests despite their very successful winning careers. The statistical relationship between a coach's success in games won and a designated score on a given basic skills test is not verifiable. Paper and pencil examinations cannot measure the relationships between scores achieved on a test and teaching effectiveness. The literature (Berliner et al., October 1986) on the effective or expert teacher is void of the use of test scores as determinants of competence. Standard test validation criteria used to insure maximum useful interpretation of test results appear in the Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests (1974), and Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing (1985). When the appropriate combination of professionally accepted validation criteria are utilized to develop and validate examinations, inferences made about applicability and appropriate use become more acceptable and accurate. Subsequently, they should be used in combination with other evaluative criteria. The current mandate to develop and use tests, in an effort to improve educational quality, exceeds existing safeguards to protect the integrity of test results and sound test validation practices.

One way of validating examinations for content validity has been through the process of expert judgment. Test questions are reviewed by selected individuals identified as experts in a testing domain. Experts are asked to make judgments about how relevant to the testing domain is a question. The consensus of experts signals that a specific test item is related to the domain being tested and that it can become part of the test. Expert judgment is also used for other purposes, such as setting cut off scores on examinations based on the results of pilot studies (Popham, 1983).

The use of expert judgment for the purposes stated above is not supported by existent research. The writer used the expert judgment method to determine performance levels of beginning first graders in his doctoral

dissertation. Master first grade teachers were unsuccessful in making performance judgments on carefully selected developmental tasks by Gessell. Even at this basic level of performance, true experts in the performance of beginning first graders were unable to make accurate determinations about their performance. It is impossible to consider making accurate judgments about performance on complex examination questions as currently practiced in establishing content validity (Garcia, 1971).

Test developers, psychometric and test experts, are aware of the inferential nature of interpreting test scores with their limited applicability and use. The practice of using unsuspecting experts to make judgments about performance levels, admissions, cut-off scores, hiring practices, merit increases, graduation, certification or tenure is unreasonable, unreliable, unprofessional, unethical and illegal for the following reasons:

A. Making judgments about performance for exacting purposes is not supported by research.

B. Those that are identified as experts are not always selected on their established expertise in the specific domain for which they are making judgments.

C. Questions submitted to the experts are often flawed because they were taken from other examinations and from unrelated sources.

D. Persons identified as experts are often asked to make judgments about cut-off scores without adequate knowledge or awareness of their involvement. These experts often end up designing their own weapon of demise.

E. No evidence exists that supports a demonstrated relationship between test scores and on-the-job performance.

F. The negative impact that these decisions are having on the professional lives of serious students and especially ethnic minorities is unethical.

G. Court decisions made in support of questionable validation processes have resulted in unfair decisions that are contrary to the Constitution and long-established A.P.A.

professional standards used to validate tests.

H. The political and economic gains made by test developers and politicians seeking reelection on the back of the educational excellence movement are unprofessional and unethical.

Content Validity

The principle form of test validity used by validators on tests such as the Pre-Professional Skills Test (PPST) is content validity. The limited acceptable use of the content validation process which results in test scores used to make professional decisions about professional careers and people is well recognized by psychometric experts. Inference made from test scores about actual on-the-job performance signals unethical practices which those who develop and sell tests must address. Those who buy standardized examinations are too often unaware of the inability of test scores to measure complex human abilities necessary for exemplary performance in all occupations. The College Board, Education Testing Service and other test developers have ineffectually cautioned test users about the improper interpretation and potential misuse of test scores. The experts agree that content validity is not enough (Fyans, Jr., Garcia 1986) to justify the current use of test scores.

Standardized tests favor native-born white American children (Williams, 1970). The two main problems of standardized testing involve scientific and ethical decisions. Standardized tests are inadequate measures of the capabilities of minorities (Messic & Anderson, 1970). A culture free test of general learning ability is a practical idea, but such test has simply not been developed (Young, 1975). According to Woolever (1985), standardized rating forms used for teacher evaluation are assumed to measure elements of quality teaching and to be reliable. "This is clearly not the case" (p. 23). The accurate measurement of teaching performance is beyond our current ability to measure (Soar, Medley, & Coker, 1983; Sykes, 1983; Zahorik, 1984). Structure (1985) has indicated that:

> While tests of numerical and verbal proficiency can act as a gross tripwire, they do not identify the pragmatic and problem solving skills required by excellent teachers, or merely by competent teachers. Effective teaching is highly contextual and conditional. At its root, teaching is a problem-solving activity. Teachers must make judgments

> and use discretion to develop situationally effective responses to student needs. State requirements that all teachers, despite experience or acknowledged expertise, submit to such blunt and questionable "screening" instruments only can contribute further to an erosion of teachers' sense of status, and promote resentment among those whose cooperation is essential to the prospects of education reform (Structures, 1985).

The validation procedures used on the Arkansas Teacher Test were flawed according to Janet Collins of IOX Assessment Associates, as cited: "For one, field testing of exam items was insufficient because not enough teachers could be coaxed to take practice tests. A copy of the test was circulated among some teachers the night before the exam, and a computer glitch sent score reports to the wrong teachers, said Collins. Further, essay topics were easy to predict, and some teachers wrote "canned" responses. (Education USA, May 25, 1986, p. 280.)"

Yalow and Collins (1985) state, "The processes that can be used to help ensure that these assessment procedures, often paper and pencil tests, possess content validity and, subsequently, to demonstrate this fact, are not yet standardized" (p. 3). Various processes have been used by test developers to successfully stand off legal challenges regarding content validity of tests. Test items are reviewed by a select population of experts who are asked for an opinion on a series of given skills and their applicability to acceptable performance. A belief that teachers should be able to do something is not sufficiently powerful for inclusion as a skill. The skills/knowledge assessed must be necessary for job performance in order to hold up under scrutiny of content validity (Garcia, 1986).

Another method used to demonstrate content validity is the "51 percent rule" used by ETS in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Mississippi. If over 50% of respondents indicate that an item is valid, it is considered to be content valid (Yalow & Collins, 1985). However, since employers cannot justify employment tests on the grounds of content validity if they cannot prove that the content of the examinations includes critical and substantial parts of the job, this procedure is questionable. Any one method used to substantiate content validity of a test is not defensible. There should be an accumulation of sources in order to make a claim of content validity more or less plausible. If a test is given as a screening device, it must reflect knowledge learned, such as that learned in a teacher education program (Yalow & Collins, 1985).

The significant role that cut-off scores play in the testing scenario cannot be underestimated. Cut-off scores are the gatekeepers that select those who may succeed or are deleted from numerous professions. Cut-off scores on identical examinations used in different states may vary considerably from state to state, even though they may be used for identical purposes. Some state users, which are often state education agencies, set their cut-off scores on examinations before they know what their impact might be on the future availability of professionals due to population reductions caused by the tests. States such as Louisiana and New Hampshire have had to lower their cut off scores on the PPST and NTE tests because serious teacher shortages were created by examination cut-off scores. Other states such as Texas and Florida are experiencing serious teacher shortages due to unrealistic testing practices, forcing them to import about 75% of their teachers. The knowledge and skills required to perform successfully in most professions are unmeasurable with pencil-and-paper tests. The practice of using different cut-off scores on identical tests will become a major problem in states practicing reciprocity. The promise of a national examination for teachers by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), National Education Association (NEA) and other professional organizations bring into sharp focus a permanent problem of national educational conformity. Warner (1986) points out that each individual state controls teacher education and not national accrediting agencies, the federal government, the Carnegie Forum Task Force or the Holmes Group. How will national examination measure state controlled and developed education programs that are different?

The national trend toward increased testing is influenced heavily by test developers, public officials and policymakers. For example, a $20.3 million, five year grant from National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) to Educational Testing Service, a test developer, places federal funds in agencies that make money from selling tests which may be a questionable practice. Unknowingly, the public and policymakers are interested in test scores which they believe are honest indicators of examinee performance. Even educators at the highest levels are unaware or unconcerned about the limited use of test scores. An Education Department representative, Chester Finn, (1986) says that "fairly simple test scores of one kind or another are what will be used, rightly or wrongly, to see if American Education is getting better or worse" (p.14).

The National Picture

The work of J. T. Sandifur (1986) which provides an overview of the types of tests which are reportedly being used in all fifty states stands as a descriptive monument to the testing movement. He has surveyed the nation through state department of education certification officers and directors of testing, and select deans of education. The information gathered is very helpful to those needing comparative information about specific tests being administered and their identified purpose.

There is a natural flaw in interpreting the data reported (by Sandifur) because state departments report the mandated purposes for which tests are being used without demonstrated awareness of the examination's actual testing domain. States that use tests to measure domains for which they were not intended report their mandated purpose and consequently appear in his survey as being used to measure a domain for which the test may not have been designed. The survey by Garcia (1985) showed a clear discrepancy between what some state tests claim to measure and domain actually measured by the reported tests. Some states could not provide adequate validation results or accurate data which would match an appropriate test with a testing domain. Examination use is often inconsistent with test content, test difficulty, and test use.

The discontentment of public educators whose jobs are threatened with the testing mandate has caused politicians who require examinations to retreat from their mandates. The broad discontentment of teachers which has become particularly evident in states such as Texas has resulted in the reversal of legislated testing of teachers in the content areas. Former promises by the governor which would require urine tests for teachers, quickly became sympathetic pleas to eliminate tests for teachers as the November elections come into view. The dreaded teachers' test in Texas, known as the Texas Examination of Current Administrators and Teachers (TECAT), caused months of worry to discover later that over 99.9% of white test takers passed the test. The millions spent on test development only created a morale problem that has served notice on politicians that teachers would exercise their voting power.

The inequities that have resulted from the testing movement are continually cited by researchers and proponents of equity. The women's movement has propelled this group into job market opportunities by well organized women's political organizations during the past 10 years (USA

TODAY, 1986). Conversely, the numbers of ethnic minorities which have always been seriously underrepresented, are experiencing devastating setbacks with the testing movement. Blacks have been represented at higher rates than Hispanics in public education. The writer's projections show that the testing movement, if continued unabated, is reducing the numbers of ethnic minorities (Blacks and Hispanics) from serious underrepresentation to dismal exclusion (Garcia, 1986). Pressman and Gartner (1986, p. 13) claim that tests that are used in the name of "educational excellence" are simply a code word for removal of Blacks and Hispanics from the teaching profession

Teacher education testing is having a devastating effect on ethnic minorities (Anrig, 1985; Brown, 1985; Ekstrom & Goertz, 1985; Goertz & Pitcher, 1985; Popham, 1984; "Teacher exams," 1985). The pass rates of ethnic minority groups on tests for entry into teacher education programs, credentialing, and certification continue to restrict the numbers of ethnic minorities entering and remaining in teaching (Goertz & Pitcher, 1985). Teacher shortages in certain types of inner city school districts have already been noted. Teacher shortages will continue to be a problem for ethnic minority inclusion in the nation's teaching corps (Ekstrom & Goertz, 1985; Smith, in press).

A significant step was taken in California to insure greater access to Hispanics into higher educational system. Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds of the California State University reports that although 25% of the state's school enrollment is Hispanic, only 10% of the university system's students are Hispanic ("Ca. Panel Urges", 1985). She indicates that, "California cannot afford this massive and growing loss of talent" (p. 2). Chancellor Reynolds appointed a Commission on Hispanic Underrepresentation, a panel of the 19 campus California State University system, in May 1984. The commission has recommended 46 ways to increase the enrollment of Hispanic students. "Some of the recommendations involve major programs with substantial costs; others are low in cost and/or more narrow in scope" (Arciniega & Morey, 1985, p. 37). Three of the recommendations are as follows:

1. Programs to help high schools with large Hispanic enrollment to strengthen their college-preparatory courses and improve counseling.

2. The assignment of state university faculty members as "mentors" for Hispanic high school students.

3. Programs to help Hispanics succeed on college entrance examinations. (Cal. Panel Urges, 1985, p.2.)

According to Arciniega and Morey (1985), "The Commission has identified the following areas in which immediate action is necessary: 1) improved access to college, 2) direct services to students to assist them to progress educationally, and 3) the enhancement of institutional capabilities" (p. 37).

The poor performance of minorities on competency tests, for certification, have been well documented (Lindahl & Wholeben, 1985). The mean scores of whites is 18 to 20 points higher than for Blacks on all three parts of the NTE. Hispanics scored 0.6 to 0.8 standard deviations below the mean for whites. The current trend will reduce the heterogeneity of the teachers in America (Anrig, 1985; Ekstrom & Goertz, 1985; Goertz & Pitcher, 1985). Passing rates of Anglos are consistently higher across the areas of math, reading and writing.

The Washington Post (Richburg, June 28, 1985) reported that 10% of the teachers failed the statewide competency test given to teachers in Arkansas. Out of 28,000 public school teachers, 2,803 failed the test. About seven percent failed the writing portion, five percent failed the reading, and three percent failed the math. In the predominantly black Lee County, 34.5% of the teachers failed the test, while in Carroll County, with a mostly white population, 2.6% of the teachers failed. "When Louisiana decided to require teacher education candidates to pass the National Teacher Examinations, Grambling State University found itself where many black colleges do - at the bottom. Fewer than 10% of its students qualified" (Up From the Bottom, 1985, p. 238).

Impact on Teacher Education Programs

Closing teacher education programs in institutions with open admission criteria which serve primarily minority populations will worsen the socioeconomic and racial/ethnic mismatch between students and teachers. The current teaching profession is 87% white, 10% black and 2% Hispanic. States having large ethnic minority populations, such as California, New York, Texas and Arizona, have current testing programs which assure a decline of those minorities entering colleges with aspirations of becoming teachers (Goertz & Pitcher, 1985).

Ekstrom & Goertz (1985), Goertz & Pitcher (1985), Goertz, Edstrom and Coley (1984), Smith (in press), and Kidd (1984) indicate that testing policies in most states have been mandated by legislators responding to the "excellence in education" movement. A review of actions taken by legislative bodies suggests that state policies are shortsighted and unaware of the impact they will have on the teacher supply and on ethnic minority representation in American education (Ekstrom & Goertz, 1985). Testing continues to be the cheapest way to evaluate teachers, but is not likely to improve the caliber of those wishing to enter the profession. Instead, it simply denies access to those who score low on competency examinations (Teacher Exams, 1985). Peterson (1984) from ETS makes an important point which concerns many educators across the country who are dedicated to honesty in test application: "I consider much teacher testing policy to be badly conceived, hastily and/or mindlessly conceived, put forward for the wrong reasons, and then often finally shaped to the interests of the strongest power blocks. All of this, needless to say, is not unique to education policy-making. Someone once said there are two things you don't ever want to see being made: One is sausage, the other is law. (p. 15)"

Impact On Multilingual Populations

Hispanic-Americans make up the largest ethnolinguistic group in America. The disparity in the performance of Hispanics and Whites on standardized achievement tests has long been known. The findings of Friedman (1985) confirm the fact that students tested in their dominant language score higher than when tested in their non-dominant language. The findings of other researchers verify language as a factor in statewide testing of ethnic populations.

Low social class is often associated with ethnic minorities. According to Campbell, Cunningham, Usdan, & Nystrand (1980): "The correlation between social class and academic success is well known. Students from middle and upper class backgrounds are more likely than lower class students to do well on achievement tests, graduate from high school, and go on to college. On the other hand, lower class students are more likely to enter school with severe educational deficiencies, behave in ways which middle class teachers consider inappropriate and leave school at an early age (p. 308)."

Test scores for the CBEST (The original tests were clones of the

PPST.) in California revealed the same problem of higher failure rates for ethnic minorities. The pass/fail rates were similar in California on the CBEST as in Texas on the PPST, with the exception that the pass rates were even lower in Texas for minorities. This is explained by the different populations who took the test. In California, the early examinees included large numbers of teachers seeking certification, as compared with students seeking admission into teacher education programs in Texas. Students coming from educationally impoverished backgrounds, where English was not spoken, scored lower on the CBEST. In Georgia, students from historically black colleges scored sufficiently low to place teacher training programs at these institutions on probation. In California, teacher candidates scored higher than employed teachers which, perhaps, results from lack of familiarity with the material tested (Peterson, 1984).

Remediation for these tests becomes nearly impossible. The PPST, CBEST, and CAT are difficult to teach because institutions cannot specify deficiencies within each basic skills subtest. There is no evidence to indicate that institutions are coordinating their efforts to provide needed remediation (Ekstrom & Goertz, 1985). ETS also predicts only minor remediation possible based on its data base of PPST test results. Forty percent of the retakes on the PPST fail to change their scores (Goodison, 1985).

Court decisions have systematically been made in support of continued test use without regard for their impact on ethnic minorities. The recent decision in the case of U.S. vs Texas addressed the use of the PreProfessional Skills Test (PPST) and its devastating effect on Blacks and Hispanics. The court ruled in favor of continued use of the PPST based on previous court cases and faulty earlier court decisions.

The court's role in affirming test use and particularly the content validity of the National Teacher Examinations (NTE) has been pointed out by A. J. Wilson (1984b) who states:

> By the 1970's, renewed attention was paid to questions of test content and test validity with the emergence of a number of law suits charging that the tests were being used in some states and communities to discriminate against minority teachers and teacher candidates. In 1978, U.S. Supreme Court, relying heavily on a study conducted for the state of South Carolina by the Educational Testing Service, ruled in favor of the exam's use and thus indirectly in favor of their content validity. The court affirmed a lower court's

> decision which stated that 'the NTE have demonstrated to provide a useful measure of the extent to which prospective teachers have mastered the content of their teacher training program'(p. 2).

The NTE is a standardized examination in which validity relates most directly to the content of teacher education programs. The broad scope of the knowledge tested indicates that the best preparation for the test is the knowledge and experience one gains from a teacher preparation program. The scores are not exact measures, and each score has associated with it a degree of error. NTE policy does not set passing scores for the examinations. ETS offers guidelines for setting minimum standards and test score use. It encourages recipients to use test scores as one of several bases for making decisions about certification and selection of teachers (ETS, 1985). However, Toch (1984) reports an increase in the use of the NTE as an admissions requirement. This has reduced the number Blacks entering the teaching profession.

Olstad, Bean, Foster, & Marrett (1985) did a validity study on the general knowledge component of the NTE Core. They found a rather consistent correlation between the NTE Test of General Knowledge and the California Achievement Test (CAT). They also noted a lack of correlation between the GPA and either the NTE or the CAT which suggests that they measure different factors. A 1983 study by Olstad, Beal, Schlick-Noe, & Schaefer at the University of Washington suggested a predictive value of GPA for teaching performance (cited in Olstad et al., 1985), whereas, the CAT did not show a predictive value. According to Olstad et al., the correlation shown between the NTE and CAT would indicate that the NTE has no predictive value in assessing success in a student teaching program. The NTE has not been empirically correlated with student teaching outcomes. Peterson (1984) cites a correlation reported in Georgia and Oklahoma of .30 and .40 respectively between student teaching and on the job performance.

Legal Aspects

Freeman, Hess, & Kasik (1985) have discussed extensively the legal aspects of teacher testing. The courts have examined two well established legal principles which have impacted on testing across the nation. The first is the right of individuals to engage in the gainful occupations of their choice as protected by due process. The second is the state's authority to reasonably regulate in order to protect the public interest. Griggs v. Duke Power Company (1971) reversed the "common sense standard" used up to that time which relied upon the credibility of testimony or on minimum attempts at validation (Freeman et al., 1985). In Griggs, the "court eventually decided that any test is illegal unless it clearly measures the skills needed for the job" (p. 3). Hunnicut v. Burge (1973) concluded that qualified teachers should possess "a good education."

The decision in Washington v. Davis (1976) modified interpretations given by the courts earlier because intent rather than impact was stressed (Freeman et al., 1985). The court ruled that tests' job relatedness need not be considered unless actual intent to discriminate was shown. This has provided much greater latitude in test interpretation. When a test seems "obviously" relevant and was developed "in good faith," it is accepted and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) guidelines for job relatedness are not considered (Freeman et al., 1985).

The U.S. v South Carolina (1977, 1978) decision permitted the use of tests to certify minimally qualified persons through the use of a content validated standardized test (Freeman et al., 1985). The court ruled that "standardized tests do reflect individual achievement with respect to specific subject matter content which is directly relevant to (although not sufficient in itself to assure) competence to teach" (cited in Freeman et al., 1985, pp. 25-26). Hazard, Freeman, Eisendorfer, & Tractenberg (1977) stated that a general education is what each teacher should have, giving greater generalizability to test developers (cited in Freeman et al., 1985). Steward v. Hannon (1979) dealt with licensing exams for principals and upheld the use of examinations for this purpose (Freeman et al., 1985).

Mohammed (1984) of Golden Rule Insurance Company raises questions about the appropriateness of the test used in Golden Rule which are similar to those raised with other examinations like the PPST. The examination covers material viewed as inappropriate for an entry-level examination. The test requires high level test taking ability with linguistic

and vocabulary skills unrelated to an applicant's competency and trustworthiness. Cut-off scores were established without sufficient regard for application. The plaintiffs claimed racial discrimination in violation of the Equal Protection Clauses of the U.S. and Illinois Constitution, and a deprivation of due process resulting from the arbitrariness of many aspects of the examination.

The out-of-court settlement of Golden Rule Insurance v. Mathis (1980) in November, 1984, continues to have impact on future testing because the settlement, in effect, requires greater supervision of tests and their uses (Freeman et al., 1985). The settlement which evolved subsequent to the Illinois Supreme Court's denial of defendants' petition to file appeals contains these fundamental points (pp. 11-12).

> (1) Applicants taking subsequent examinations will be asked to furnish voluntarily their race or ethnicity and the level of education they have attained.
>
> (2) The Director of the Department of Insurance will publish annually a report containing statistical information, including the results of the testing by race for each part and the entire test, the mean scaled scores on each part, and the standard deviation of scaled scores on each part, and the results by race for those having a high school diploma or a G.E.D. In addition, the Department is required to prepare an "item report" which provides the correct answer rates for each item by race as well as r-biserial correlations.
>
> (3) In constructing future tests, ETS is obliged to adhere to both the APA's Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and ETS' Standards for Quality and Fairness and Test Sensitivity Guidelines.
>
> (4) The agreement stipulates that no more than a twelfth grade reading level as determined by generally accepted reading-factor indexes, e.g., FOG or SMOG, shall be required (excluding terms specifically related to the insurance industry, e.g., the term beneficiary).
>
> (5) The construction of future tests, according to the agreement, is to proceed in the following manner:

All test items are to be divided into two types. Type I items are those for which a) the correct answer rates of black examinees, white examinees, and all examinees are not lower than forty percent (40%) at the .05 level of statistical significance and b) the correct answer rate of black and white examinees differs by no more than fifteen percentage points at the .05 level of statistical significance. Type II items are all other items.

The agreement then stipulates that Type I items are to be used exclusively as long as there is a sufficient number. When used, Type II items are to be selected in descending order of the least difference between white and black examinees. New items may be generated, but must be pretested on three occasions; these items, known as Type III, cannot be used until after being pretested and then classified as Type I or Type II items.

(6) Finally, the agreement stipulates the creation of an advisory committee comprised of representatives of the insurance industry in Illinois and two persons knowledgeable in the area of psychometrics. The committee will review test results and make recommendations concerning the test.

Some independent school districts have developed their own tests and validation studies. The Houston Public Academic Skills Test (FAST) assesses basic reading, writing, and mathematics skills. According to W. N. Kirby, Commissioner of Education in Texas, of the 12,000 to 13,000 professional staff from Houston Independent School District, 7,000 have passed the reading and writing parts of the FAST examination (Kirby, 1985). The "face validity" approval given to the FAST by the Texas Education Agency staff appears to be inconsistent with the guidelines of the Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing (1985).

The use of any test for employment selection, promotion, or retention requires that a test be appropriately validated by the agency administering the examination. Beyond this, there are professional, ethical, and legal responsibilities that the examiners must safeguard against should the examination have an adverse impact on hiring, promotion, or membership opportunities of members of any race, ethnic, or gender group. Employees may file suit against an employer, claiming discrimination in employment practice, if criteria and procedures for evaluation are not consistent with the Uniform Guidelines in Employment Selection Procedures, published in 1978 (Stein & Frankiewicz, 1985).

To be legal, a testing program must be equitable and fair. Examinations must measure what teachers should know to be effective teachers. Tests cannot be used to discriminate by race or gender. The safest possible legal ground for public administrators are indicated by Lines (1985) as follows:

1. Appropriate validation of tests.

2. Insure that tests measure what they are intended to measure and that this reflects skills needed for on-the-job performance.

3. Use tests only for purposes and applications recommended by the developer.

4. Avoid tests which disproportionately exclude a racial or gender group.

5. Use additional non-test appropriate criteria.

6. Insure adequate procedures for challenging errors or abuses.

It is important to recognize the differences between present testing criteria and legal criteria used by the courts for dismissal purposes over the past 40 years. The courts have accepted pre-employment tests with some reservations, and require that they be equitable and fair. Seventeen states have adopted a testing requirement for new teachers. Fourteen are considering general competency tests. The courts reportedly are willing to question efforts which are not a reasonable measure of performance (Lines, 1985). Texas approved a state wide test of basic skills to be taken by all teachers in the area of reading and writing (Langford, 1985). The test was first administered in March of 1986 with confusion and organized revolt resulting from a judge's ruling that one teacher was not required to take it (Stolarek, 1986b).

The development and applicability of tests in South Carolina are technically (and thus probably also legally) defensible based on the Angoff, Nedelsky, and Ebel approaches (Hamm & Winer, 1985). These approaches require groups of experts to make item- by-item judgments of each test item difficulty. However, the process of asking experts to make judgments about

actual performance as a method of measuring actual performance is not sufficiently accurate (Garcia, 1971).

The responses to and the reasons for mandating change in the testing movement in this country are developing:

1. In Florida, both teacher unions have filed litigation against the Master Teacher Plan, causing it to be terminated (1986). At least 10 other states have legislation pending or have passed similar legislation (G.W. Wilson, 1985).

2. There is insufficient research evidence favoring one method of job analysis for construction and validation of personnel tests indicating that there should be multiple methods used.

3. Tests developed on the basis of systematic job analysis are more fair than commercially developed tests.

4. Specific written knowledge tests developed through job analysis are more fair to minorities (Stein & Frankiewicz, 1985).

5. Judge Myron H. Thompson ordered major changes in Alabama's Initial Teacher Certification Test in early 1986 and will likely be appealed in the 11th Circuit Court (Judge, 1986).

Summation

It is becoming apparent that the testing movement can no longer be the tail that wags the dog. The joint meeting of NEA, ETS, AACTE, and Fairtest on December 11th and 12th, 1986 in Washington, D.C., is evidence that divergent interest groups must address the question of integrity in testing. Monetary and political interests must lean with the pressures for equity in education with full assurance that quality will not be sacrificed in America. The leadership of these groups agreed that criteria other than standardized tests must be used to measure teaching competence. Dr. Greg Anrig, President of Educational Testing Service reported that the student teaching experience is the best measure of the success of a teacher. That raises a serious question about why standardized tests are used for this purpose.

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HOW CAN WE MEET ALL THEIR NEEDS? INCORPORATING EDUCATION FOR THE GIFTED AND TALENTED INTO THE MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOM

Elizabeth A. Hartley

This paper discusses a number of issues surrounding the identification and instructional needs of minority "gifted and/or talented" (G/T) children in the multi- ethnic classroom. These issues include teacher expectations, native language, assessment, acculturational factors and learning styles. Subsequent focus is on eight instructional strategies which can be used to more appropriately serve minority G/T students in the multicultural classroom.

A practical workshop designed for the classroom teacher working in a multi-ethnic school environment as well as for teacher trainers who are preparing new teachers for multicultural education settings is presented. Factors influencing the identification of and programming for minority and linguistically diverse "gifted and/or talented" students are discussed. This discussion is followed by a critical look at eight instructional strategies which can be incorporated into the multi-ethnic classroom to serve these special students' needs. The multi-ethnic environment referred to here frequently consists of a rich mixture of Asian, Black, Hispanic, American Indian and Euro-American students.

Much has been done in terms of "regular" education for minority and linguistically diverse students, as well as, special/handicapped education for the same. However, the needs of these students at the level of "gifted and talented" are seldom addressed. In the multi-ethnic classroom the wide variety of students presents a true challenge to educators. They encounter a diverse population to whom they must be culturally sensitive. Educators must be aware of the variety of attitudes, abilities and , in general, the cultural backgrounds of the children who come to their classrooms. These factors directly affect how minority children "fit" into the present U.S. definition of gifted and talented and whether or not their exceptional abilities and talents will be recognized. Often many gifted and/or talented (G/T) minority students are hidden in the "lower" echelon of students when described by their academic abilities. For this reason, it is essential to look for these exceptional students' abilities in a variety of ways and, thus, address their educational needs in a more appropriate and effective manner.

The U.S. Office of Education's definition of gifted and talented students is necessarily very broad. Each state and local education agency interprets the definition differently depending on their stated philosophy and goals. How the needs of "gifted and/or talented" Black, Asian, Hispanic and American Indian students are met depends directly on these interpretations. Frequently, these students are under-served in traditional-type G/T programs. Such programs are defined by their dependence on academic aptitude and proficiency as prerequisite for entry. Intelligence and achievement tests are often used as the sole screening or identification measures. All educators need to consider what the purpose of the G/T program is, what unique talents and abilities of students are to be tapped, what educational strategies would be best suited to nurture these abilities and talents, what resources are available to provide for these students' needs in the school setting, what physical environment best fits the various students' learning or cognitive styles and what kind of time is necessary to provide for the tasks and the students' capabilities and interests. Family interests also play a very important role in educational programming as vehicles for cultural saliency concerning the products expected of the students.

After these general considerations are taken into account, some specific factors which influence the identification of and educational programming for minority and linguistically diverse G/T students need to be investigated. For the purposes of this paper, these are 1) teacher expectations, 2) native/dominant language and its influence on assessment, 3) culture and acculturational factors and, 4) learning (cognitive) styles. A brief discussion of each factor follows.

Teacher Expectations

What the literature and research have indicated for years is that what a teacher expects in the classroom is what the students will give him or her. Therefore, when educators expect minority students to exhibit certain behaviors and abilities and not others, the students are not given fair opportunity to demonstrate their true strengths. It is important to not only give the students appropriate academic opportunities but also opportunities to exert leadership in other non-academic areas where students can safely build their self-esteem. Increased self- esteem may then be applied with success to academic areas where, previously, these students' abilities may not have been readily observable.

Providing exposure to environments different from the students'

everyday life - for example, trips to museums or hiking in the mountains - is one way to help them develop greater mental flexibility in novel situations, as well as, to increase their knowledge to be used as a basic, creative "tool". "How can a student be inspired to become a botanist without ever being exposed to more than flowers seen at the supermarket?" Providing opportunities that challenge and encourage minority G/T students is certainly a creative job for teachers.

Native/Dominant Language and Assessment

When a child's native language is other than English, native language influence can lower the results of identification measures which are primarily dependent on English oral and written language. This, in turn, results in many linguistically diverse children being under-served by programs for the gifted and talented.

Some measures of intellectual ability have been developed which are considered "culture free" or "culture reduced" which, generally, means they depend very little on linguistic or other cultural content for assessment. One such measure is the Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices (Raven, 1962). It has been found reliable in identifying "bright" minority children. However, negative results do not indicate a lack of "brightness", only an inability to perform well on the behaviors required by this measure.

In attempting to identify minority and linguistically diverse students for G/T programs it is recommended that a variety of measures be used in order to identify the maximum number of students. Avoid cut-off scores as an "end-all". These are useful for funding only. It is to any school's advantage to find as many ways as possible to identify as many G/T children as possible. A composite of measures can uncover abilities and talents that one or two might not. For example, a file for each child including Raven's CPM scores, Structure of Intellect (SOI) scores (Guildord, 1967; Meeker, 1969), and parent, student and teacher nominations or checklists. Teachers can use the Renzulli-Hartman scale (1971) and parents can write a small biography of their child. Teachers experience, is also a critical factor in their classrooms. This all leads to a gestalt of identification less dependent on language abilities and more pertinent to the students needs and abilities. The less dependent the identification is on standardized measures, the more probable will be the inclusion of more minority children in G/T programs.

Keep in mind that continuous evaluation and assessment of children is

the only way to keep up with their needs. The same philosophy that is held for special education programs in terms of evaluation needs to be considered, as well, for G/T education.

Culture and Acculturation

A child's background, whether rural, suburban or urban, fifth generation migrant or immigrant, directly affects the degree of acculturation the child has experienced. For example, exposure to and acceptance of the dominant society's values will influence how the child will accommodate him or herself into the mainstream classroom. How a particular culture or subculture perceives the value of mainstream education will influence their children's motivation and achievement in the school setting. School is also a culture and must be learned. Realize that often educators are asking minority students to become bi-cultural in asking them to learn and assimilate the school culture and to become tri-cultural when asking them to assimilate the dominant society's values, as well.

Educators, with some training, can identify certain attitudes that a child carries toward the mainstream society. This knowledge can help the teacher approach the child with better understanding. Parents must also be approached with such sensitivity and understanding. Frequently, the more culturally traditional a community is, the more educators must be sensitive to the community values of exceptionality. With the variety of ethnicities involved in multi-ethnic classrooms, educators must be very flexible in working with the community at large.

Some indicators of acculturation to look for might be: the family system (nuclear or extended), first and second language use and proficiency, value orientations, community status, community and social identity, socioeconomic status, and many more. Each of these areas runs along a continuum. In addition, many minority students differ in their exposure to educational opportunities. That is, what kind of educational experiences have they had in the past or have been available to these students? Learning to ask the right questions and to look at students and their community as a whole are the educators' responsibilities.

Learning/Cognitive Styles

It has been shown that various cultural backgrounds tend to encourage different learning styles and modes. Our mainstream culture emphasizes

individual work and achievement. These attributes, are not necessarily compatible with some students' backgrounds and resultant learning styles.

When considering learning styles and modalities educators must remember not to make generalizations based on stereotypes. Learning styles tend to be situation specific, for example, field-sensitive v. field-independent styles. Educators should attempt to discern the style or modality in which their students function must efficiently. In a multi-ethnic classroom educators need to use as many learning modalities as possible in presenting content (e.g. visual, kinesthetic, aural, etc.,). Also, it is important to provide varied learning environments in the classroom so that all students have optimal learning opportunities. (The instructional strategies to be described presently lend themselves to this.) Most of all, provide students time to think and time to answer. Many cultural groups value listening and learning and encourage considered thought before speaking. What appears to be slowness may only be what a student knows as correct behavior.

The above factors, among others, need to be considered when developing more appropriate learning opportunities for minority and linguistically diverse G/T students. In light of these factors, eight instructional strategies that can be incorporated into the multi-ethnic classroom by the classroom teacher are described below. Positive aspects for classroom teachers will be highlighted.

The eight strategies demonstrated here are:

1) Resources/Action Learning Centers. Learning areas created for active student involvement with materials usually reflecting a subject area focus. A laboratory setting designed to stimulate curiosity, broaden student knowledge and interests; students working together or independently on pursuits of their choosing; and through contracting agreement with advisor-teacher.

Advantages:

-The classroom teacher might have immediate knowledge of each student's needs and could tailor learning centers in the classroom to meet those needs.

-Student's activities may be more effectively integrated with his/her ongoing classroom program.

-Centers in the classroom may tap hidden talents of other students not heretofore identified as G/T students.

2) Mentorships (tutorial). One or more students working with a qualified adult or other student on a regular basis, matching identified student needs in an area of study with a person having particular expertise in that study area.

Advantages:

-The classroom teacher could be the one with the most accurate understanding of the student's special need(s).

-Work initiated with the mentor might be more readily integrated into the student's ongoing program if the classroom teacher has been involved in coordinating the mentorship and has ownership for it.

3) Independent Study. Opportunities for students to engage in exploratory study or pursue closely defined in-depth projects individually or in cluster.

Advantages:

-The classroom teacher may be most aware of their students' special abilities, interests and independent study needs.

4) Special Advanced Courses. Opportunities for students to engage in specialized areas of study.

Advantages:

-An efficient, as well as, effective use of existing resources may be realized in those situations where the regular classroom teacher has the necessary expertise to facilitate the advanced course and where the scheduling can be managed.

-It may provide an incentive for staff members to acquire additional expertise through planned professional growth activities.

5) Executive Internships. Opportunities for students to work and learn on-site in a field of study or practicum relationship with a mentor (business, the arts, the professions, industry). The study effort represents an advanced

learning opportunity for the student of demonstrated or potential talent and is not to be confused with any general work program aimed solely to earn money while attending school.

Advantages:

-The student's classroom teacher may be most knowledgeable about the student's abilities and needs.

-The integration of an internship with school activities may be effectively managed by the particular sending teacher.

6) Cluster (Task) Grouping. Formal grouping of students working in a task situation usually over a specified periods of time. The composition of the groups varies depending upon task demands. Task clusters include:

I. Skills Lab: 2-12 students
II. Cooperative Team Learning: 20-50 students
III. Interest Exploration: 5-20 students
IV. Curricular Seminars: 8-18 students

Advantages:

-The regular classroom teacher may be the most knowledgeable regarding the strengths and needs of his/her students and be able to make the best judgments regarding grouping.

-Within the classroom there may be a greater tendency to involve more students in the different groupings.

7) Content Acceleration. Acceleration in areas of study which describe a continuum of study or sequence of skills in some hierarchical relationship.

Advantages:

-The classroom teacher may be familiar with the students' abilities and interests.

-The classroom teacher may provide advanced study opportunities within the regular classroom structure.

-It may provide an incentive to the classroom teacher to gain further expertise in working with advanced students.

8) Grade Level Acceleration. Moving students of outstanding performance ahead at least one grade level. [Use selectively-perhaps best for early ages - e.g. pre-school or early admission at the university level.]

Advantages:

-Given a receptive teacher, and close consideration of the student's social, physical, emotional and intellectual needs, a child may be placed effectively.

There are certainly many positive aspects to consider for each of these instructional strategies, as well as, practical concerns that must always be taken into account whenever a program is being devised. It is suggested that educators use whatever strategies best suit their classroom needs and what best complements their own teaching styles. Most children, exceptional or not, will learn from each other and the learning situation, perhaps even more so when G/T instruction is incorporated into the regular classroom via these strategies, and with teachers who are sensitive to their cultural, as well as, educational needs.

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COMPARISON OF ACCULTURATION AND EDUCATION CHARACTERISTICS OF REFERRED AND NONREFERRED CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIFFERENT CHILDREN

Catherine Collier

This study investigated the acculturation and education characteristics of culturally/linguistically different elementary school children who had been enrolled in bilingual programs. The purpose of the study was to identify those education and acculturation characteristics which distinguished children who had been referred to special education from nonreferred children. The effect of the interaction of these characteristics upon predicting referral and placement was also examined. The sample consisted of 95 Hispanic children who had been enrolled in bilingual education programs. Comparative profiles and a scale to rate the degree of acculturation were developed. The findings indicated that acculturation characteristics were significantly involved in the referral and placement of the target students in special education, as well as highly correlated to school achievement.

One of the most controversial issues currently facing educators in public school districts throughout the United States is the identification and referral of culturally and linguistically different children for placement in special education programs. Over the past decade, disproportionate referral of minority children (both over and under referral and placement) has become a matter of increasing concern to educators in public schools. Personnel involved in the referral and placement of these children, into special assistance programs, need to be able to identify the potential exceptional educational characteristics and the cultural and linguistic characteristics of these children in order to make informed and appropriate decisions. The interactive effects of these characteristics upon the child experiencing cultural and/or linguistic adaptation, i.e., acculturation, must be taken into account in the referral/placement decision. Without this knowledge, education personnel cannot make appropriate identification, referral, and service decisions for the culturally and linguistically different (CLD) child.

It is evident from a review of previous research that the interrelationship of cultural and educational characteristics is central to answering questions about appropriate identification, referral and instruction of CLD exceptional children. It is also evident from a review of these studies

that the results of acculturation research have not been considered in this interrelationship.

There is ample evidence that cultural, linguistic, and psychological changes occur among populations undergoing acculturation (Berry, 1970; Witkin & Berry, 1975). This is especially troubling since the effects of acculturation are similar to and may be confused with some of the behaviors for which children are referred to special education. Knowledge about these characteristics and needs of the CLD population is incomplete without a knowledge of the effects of acculturation upon this population and how these acculturational factors relate to exceptionality.

Children in need of special assistance will continue to be identified and placed in special education classrooms. It is important to identify their special needs, delineating those characteristics of exceptionality from those characteristics of acculturation, and to provide them appropriate services.

This study examined the presence of and the interaction between educational and cultural/linguistic characteristics of CLD children experiencing acculturation in the public school system. It also examined and identified which of these characteristics differentiated children referred for special education placement from nonreferred culturally and linguistically different children. The results and conclusions of this study provide guidance in developing appropriate training for school personnel in the identification, referral and instruction of the culturally and linguistically different exceptional population in the public schools.

Definition of Terms

Acculturation: A type of cultural change initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultures. The dynamics of acculturation include selective adaptation of the value system, integration and differentiation processes. Acculturation does not mean assimilation. It refers to the process by which members of one culture adapt to the presence of another culture. This adaptation may be through integration, assimilation, rejection, or deculturation (Padilla, 1980).

Convergence: The interaction of an exceptional condition(s) and the cultural and linguistic characteristics of an individual. The effect of being retarded upon the acculturation of a Spanish speaking child is an example of convergence. Another example is the differing attitude within particular

cultural groups toward an exceptional condition and the effect of this upon a CLD exceptional child's development and learning.

Culturally and linguistically different: An individual whose native culture is not of mainstream America and whose native language is not English. The individual may or may not be acculturated to some extent and may or may not be relatively proficient in English or in his/her native language.

Exceptional: A condition which requires modification of the regular instructional program in order for a child to achieve his/her maximum potential (Haring and McCormick, 1986).

Special education: Instruction designed for children whose educational needs cannot be addressed effectively in the regular school program without adaptation or modification (Haring and McCormick, 1986).

Methodology

The sample for this study consisted of 95 Hispanic limited English proficient (LEP) elementary students who were identified by a local school district and enrolled in bilingual/ESL programs in the district prior to the 1984-85 school year. The school district was asked to provide information on students, randomly selected, from their K-6 bilingual/ESL programs. The sample consisted of 95 bilingual children, 51 of whom had never been referred to special education and 44 of whom had been referred to special education. The referred students included 27 referred but not placed and 17 referred and placed in special education within the last two years. All of these students were identified by the district as limited English proficient to some extent and of Hispanic cultural backgrounds.

The students were compared on 15 acculturation and education variables selected on the basis of an extensive review of the literature. The acculturation variables were selected from research focused on the effect of numerous cultural and linguistic factors upon the successful acculturation of CLD students in this country (Alder, 1975; Juffer, 1983; Padilla, 1980). The education variables were those regularly considered in the referral and placement of any child in special education (Algozzine & Ysseldyke, 1981; Knoff, 1983; Smith, 1982) included in Table I.

Composite scores for the two major variable categories, acculturation

and educational achievement, were also considered. A scale for rating relative degree of acculturation was developed based upon the variables and research cited above. A copy of the scale is given in Appendix A. This scale was submitted to 15 professionals for review and modification.

The theoretical foundation of this study is based upon a holistic view of identifying and providing for the special needs of children. More specifically, the needs of the whole child must be identified and provided for in an integrated curriculum before it can be said that his/her needs have been met. The children in the bilingual special education population are children who may have special linguistic, cultural and educational characteristics which may distinguish them from 'regular' bilingual children and which may assist in identifying their special learning needs.

In examining cultural and linguistic characteristics, the additional factor of acculturation must be considered. Acculturation is a process which affects any person exposed to a different cultural and social environment. Of the four general acculturation outcomes (i.e., integration, assimilation, rejection, and marginality) integration was selected as the adaptive goal against which the children were rated. The acculturation scale developed (Appendix A) was based upon research into how successful cultural integration takes place in a population experiencing acculturation (Padilla, 1980).

Both acculturation and education variables have been featured in previous studies of identification and referral of CLD children. However, the interaction of these characteristics have rarely been examined. This interaction was the central concern in this study.

A review of the literature led to the expectation that within a randomly selected group of school children, those referred and/or placed in special education would differ significantly from those not referred or placed, particularly in regard to achievement and ability. In previous studies, cultural and linguistic differences between mainstream and minority became an additional factor in whether or not a child was referred and/or placed. In this study, however, all of the children were from the same cultural and linguistic background. As they were also from the same nontransient socioeconomic background and age range, it was expected that the children should be relatively homogeneous in regard to cultural and linguistic variables, with some differences between individual children. In theory, pre-investigation expectations assumed that referred and nonreferred children would differ on their education profile but not on their acculturation (cultural and linguistic) profile.

The study examined the following main research question:

> In what acculturational and educational ways do nonreferred culturally and linguistically different children differ from those referred to special education?

Nonreferred CLD children (N) were compared to referred CLD (R) as a whole group. The N group was also compared separately to referred but not placed (R*) CLD children and to placed (P) CLD children. A summary of the findings by N/R/R*/P groups is given in TABLE II and appendixes.

Findings

Contrary to theoretical expectations, the referred and nonreferred groups did not differ at a statistically significant level on their education profiles but difference did appear on their acculturation profiles. Findings also indicated a strong interaction and correlation between particular acculturation and education variables. Although academic concerns were cited as the primary reason for referral, there was no statistically significant difference in achievement test scores in any content area. There was a meaningful effect size between nonreferred and placed children. A significant interaction was found between minority enrollment and educational achievement. This is shown in Figure I and Appendixes.

Differences were found between R* and P subjects on selected acculturation variables: LAU category, language proficiency, minority enrollment, and acculturation. There were no significant differences for any education variable between these two groups.

Differences were found between N and P subjects on selected acculturation variables: LAU category, language proficiency, minority enrollment, and acculturation. There were no significant differences between N and P groups on educational variable.

No significant differences were found between N and R* subjects on selected acculturation education variables.

A significant interaction was found between minority enrollment and educational achievement. Nonreferred subjects had higher educational achievement in schools with high minority enrollment while placed subjects

had higher educational achievement in schools with low minority enrollment.

A significant relationship also was found between years in bilingual programs and educational achievement. Nonreferred subjects with more years of bilingual instruction had better educational achievement than nonreferred subjects with fewer years of bilingual/ESL instruction. This relationship between high educational achievement and years of bilingual instruction was significant for the entire sample population. This was also found to be true for language proficiency. A significant relationship was found between language proficiency and educational achievement for all referral status groups.

A significant relationship was found between years in the United States and educational achievement. Referred but not placed subjects who had been in the United States more than four years, were significantly higher in educational achievement than those who had been in the United States less than four years. The relationship between more years in the United States and level of educational achievement was statistically significant for the population as a whole. A significant relationship also was found between level of acculturation and educational achievement for all referral status groups. The population as a whole performed better on educational achievement the higher the level of acculturation.

It may be concluded that culturally and linguistically different children continue to be disproportionately referred and placed in special education. In addition, it can be stated, that the psychodynamics of acculturation are clearly factors in referral and placement and must be considered in the identification and instruction of culturally and linguistically different children with special needs.

Conclusions

The literature indicated that disproportionate referral to special education of culturally and linguistically different children decreased when minority enrollment increased and bilingual education programs were available (Finn, 1982). This study supported this finding. It also suggests that bilingual education appears to improve the educational achievement of culturally and linguistically different children. The finding that nonreferred culturally and linguistically different children apparently did better educationally in schools with high minority enrollment may be due to differences in the quality of the available alternative programs including

bilingual instruction. It may also be related to the presence of role models, improved self concept, etc. There is also the possibility that CLD children are over-referred in schools with low minority enrollment while under-referred in schools with high minority enrollment. Expectations may be lower in high minority schools or teachers may be less willing to risk censure for referring minority children with learning and behavior problems.

Some of the literature indicated that differences in education variables were to be expected between children referred to special education and those not referred to special education (Haring and McCormick, 1986). Prior research indicated that differences in educational achievement and overall ability may not be as significant in referral as other education variables, such as reason for referral (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1981). The results of this study indicate that CLD children referred to special education do not appear to differ significantly from those not referred in achievement and ability but do differ in degree of teacher concern. Although they did not differ significantly on their educational profile, all children were referred for 'academic' reasons rather than 'behavior' or other reasons. The implications are that regular classroom teachers need improved training in the identification of learning problems among and appropriate instruction for the culturally and linguistically different. The availability of alternative programs and intervention alternatives for concerned teachers may be indicated. As a result of this study, such an intervention process was developed and has been implemented for over 3 years (Collier, 1984).

The literature indicated that there should be only slight individual differences in acculturation variables within a population of the same age, socioeconomic status and ethnic background (Padilla, 1980). However, the results of this study indicate that CLD children referred to special education differ significantly in acculturation characteristics from those not referred. Placed students appeared to be more highly acculturated, more bilingual, and more English proficient than either nonreferred or referred/not placed students. Referred but not placed students appeared to be the least acculturated, least proficient in English, and had the lowest achievement scores. Taken in conjunction with the minority enrollment findings, it may be that in low minority enrollment schools culturally and linguistically different children are referred more frequently, but only the most acculturated and English proficient of these CLD children are actually placed. One potential explanation for this is that the staffing teams may be sensitive to the difficulties inherent in assessing possible exceptionality in a less acculturated limited English proficient student and may defer full staffing and/or placement until the student is more acculturated and more proficient.

However, there are few bilingual services available in the low minority enrollment schools, and access to these is clearly correlated to achievement. Therefore, it becomes a foregone conclusion that these children's special learning needs will not be met and they will be re-referred until they "qualify" for special education. At this time their initial learning problems may have been compounded with other learning and behavior problems. In minority enrollment schools, bilingual or ESL instruction may be used as an intervention for "at risk" children referred, but not placed in special education.

In conclusion, acculturation characteristics were found to be significantly involved in the referral and placement of culturally and linguistically different children to special education, as well as highly correlated to the school achievement of these students.

TABLE I

Means and Standard Deviations: Referral Status-Acculturation and Education Variables

Means and Standard Deviations by Referral Status for Each Education Variable

Education Variable	$\bar{X}_N$	sd_N	$\bar{X}_R$	sd_R	$\bar{X}_{R^*}$	sd_{R^*}	$\bar{X}_P$	sd_P
ABV	-	-	83.59	9.05	86.25	9.36	82.77	9.18
ABN	-	-	94.77	11.09	92.5	6.61	93.46	12.29
ABT	-	-	86.65	8.29	88.25	6.70	86.25	8.78
INV	1.12	.38	3.07	.69	2.89	.75	3.35	.49
EDT	14.13	4.39	11.76	4.0	12.05	4.83	11.41	2.85
	N = 51		N = 44		N = 27		N = 17	

Note:

ABV = Verbal I.Q.; ABN = Nonverbal I.Q.; ABT = Full scale I.Q. (I.Q. tests are not administered to nonreferred); INV = Degree of Concern; EDT = Educational Achievement Score; N = Nonreferred; R = Referred; R* = Referred/Not Placed; P = Referred/Placed.

TABLE I

Means and Standard Deviations: Referral Status-Acculturation and Education Variables

Means and Standard Deviations by Referral Status for Each Acculturation and Education Variable

Acculturation Variables	$\bar{X}_N$	sd_N	$\bar{X}_R$	sd_R	$\bar{X}_{R^*}$	sd_{R^*}	$\bar{X}_P$	sd_P
BI	1.82	.65	1.39	.49	1.52	.51	1.18	.39
LAU **	1.75	.89	1.98	1.13	1.30	.29	3.06	1.13
LPE **	2.45	1.42	2.43	1.34	1.82	1.15	3.41	1.01
CL ***	49.2	11.99	36.68	13.86	39.64	12.04	31.97	15.55
US	3.3	2.20	3.84	1.87	3.67	1.57	4.12	2.29
ACT **	13.78	3.88	14.16	3.02	12.85	2.53	16.24	2.58
	N = 51		N = 44		N = 27		N = 17	

Note: BI = Years in bilingual/ESL; LAU = LAU/ELPA Category; LPE = English Language Proficiency; CL = Percent minority enrollment; US = Years in United States; ACT = Acculturation; N = Nonreferred; R = Referred; R* = Referred/Not Placed; P = Referred/Placed.

** $P < .05$
*** $P < .01$

APPENDIX A

CCDES ACCULTURATION SCALE

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ SEX _____ GRADE _____

LANGUAGE(s) SPOKEN AT HOME _____

	Raw Data	CCDESA Scale Score
Number of years, United States		
Number of years, School District		
Number of years, ESL and/or bilingual education		
LAU category		
Native language proficiency		
English language proficiency		
Ethnicity/Nation of origin		
Percentage minority enrollment in attending school		
CCDESA Scale Score TOTAL		

CCDESA SCALE SCORE GUILDELINES

Number of years, US/SD:	Number of years, ESL/BE:
Under 2 = 1	0.0 - 1.0 = 1
2-3 = 2	1.1 - 1.5 = 2
4-5 = 3	1.6 - 2.0 = 3
6-7 = 4	2.1 - 2.5 = 4
8-9 = 5	2.6 - 3.0 = 5

LAU category	Ethnicity
A = 1	Native American = 1
B = 2	Hispanic = 2
C = 3	Asian/Pac. Is. = 3
D = 4	Black/MidEast = 4
E = 5	White/European = 5

Percentage Enrollment	Language Proficiency
81% - 100% = 1	Least = 1
61% - 80% = 2	Proficient = 2
41% - 60% = 3	= 3
21% - 40% = 4	Most = 4
0% - 20% = 5	Proficient = 5

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CCDESA Scale based upon research by Adler, 1975; Berry, 1980; Collier, 1983; and Juffer, 1983.

TABLE II: Summary of Findings

Variable	Result
1. School	1. Significant for N/R Significant for N/R*/P
2. Sex	2. No Significance
3. Age	3. No significance for N/R Significant of N/R*/P
4. Grade	4. No significance for N/R Significant for N/R*/P
5. Years in Bilingual/ESL Program	5. No Significance
6. LAU/ELPA Category	6. No significance for N/R Significant for N/R*/P
7. English Language Proficiency	7. No significance for N/R Significant for N/R*/P
8. Minority Enrollment	8. Significant for N/R Significant for N/R*/P
9. Years in United States	9. No signifance
10. Acculturation	10. No significance for N/R Significant for N/R*/P
11. Verbal I.Q.	11. No significance for R/R*/P
12. Nonverbal I.Q.	12. No significance for R/R*/P
13. Full scale I.Q.	13. No significance for R/R*/P
14. Reason for referral or problem behavior	14. No significance
15. Educational achievement	15. Significant for N/R No significance for N/R*/P

However: ES
N/P .75
N/R* .45
N/R .56
P/R* .16

Summary of results comparing referral status for each dependent variable.

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"IT's ONLY HALF OF ME"
THE INTERRACIAL CHILD: THE NEED FOR BALANCE

Carol L. Hatcher

Although multiethnic living is practiced by a growing number of Americans and their children, this lived experience is very likely separate from school. In fact, in school most language and other cultural differences among students are for the most part ignored. This work is structured around the surprising success biracial children have had in attaining the abstract goal of multiethnic acceptance by way of lessons learned in life and not academic effort. Multiethnic living has in fact, developed in them a remarkably well evolved, yet unrecognized view of the world. If aware, educators can utilize this life experience so that all learners can benefit by gaining authentic impressions of other cultures, races and languages.

Review of the Literature

In our multiethnic nation, there is no one life style, nor, one set of values. Each member culture practices certain customs, shares certain physical characteristics and sustains linguistic proficiencies peculiar to their group. Each member culture has made and continues to make contributions to our nation and world as a whole. A number of demographic publications (Cetron, 1985) indicate that the United States is in a period of rapid cultural change, and with these changes our schools are becoming increasingly more multiethnic in nature. "By the year 2000 America will be a nation in which one of every three of us will be non-white. ...Minorities will cover a broader socioeconomic range than ever before" (Institute for Educational Leadership, 1985, p. 38).

The children of our multiethnic nation need to develop a healthy sense of themselves and others, to develop open-mindedness about their own and other cultures, and to develop an unshakable sense of belonging. They have the right to authentic impressions about themselves and others and a right to healthy feelings about all cultures and races of this nation. They need to realize that individuals from all cultures, languages and races experience similar feelings and life problems. It is important to note that there is more commonality than diversity among the human races. Schools should be obligated to recognize our nation's diversity, and to foster understanding of

blending to this nation's divergent groups.

Isolation and Community Sanction

Couples of identical race come together for companionship. Investigators have found that this factor also brings together interracial marriages, and for the most part multiethnic living is practiced. According to Spivey (1986), families choose surroundings which are compatible with a multiethnic imperative. Schools, social companions and role models for their children are sought after in a multiethnic context (Spivey, 1986). This means that interracial families choose neighborhoods and communities where many ethnic groups co-exist --melting pot communities where the colors are varied and many languages are represented.

There is more than one world view in these families. Children are afforded rich interethnic experiences. Family customs, growth and development, interpersonal and intrapersonal experiences are thick with the influences of the parents' culture and language. These families develop traditions which blend the languages and the child rearing practices of each parent's personal experiences.

During the last ten years, groups of intercultural/interracial families have come together to share their common interest. Their attention has focused upon the well being and development of the children and adults who are of more than one ethnic or cultural heritage (Hopson, 1987).

Identity Confusion

In his doctoral research, Jacobs (1978), investigated the formation of identity in black/white interracial children. He found that identity formation occurs in developmental stages as does gender identity, and cognitive and language development. Jacobs found that at age three or four, young children are unable to hold color constant, thus perceiving color as something fluid and changing. Children do not discriminate between racial groups at this stage. Young biracial children try out racial identities in play, along with gender and social roles. This play does not indicate denial of race but simply indicates that the child's developing cognitive processes have triggered a need for personal discovery.

At age four or five, the child achieves color constancy and enters into a period which Jacobs describes as ambivalence and exploration. During this period the child has developed the skill to discriminate between racial groups. Now more sensitive to his social environment, the child sees himself

as being similar yet different from each parent. Children describe themselves by saying. "My mother's white and my father's black. I'm brown or mixed." Parents might also hear "I wish my hair were straight" or "I don't want any white dolls." Here an expressed negation shifts from one parent's heritage to the other as the child explores each side. This is quite normal and it is not an indication that there is a lack of affection, love, or pride in the cultural heritage of either parent. It is a demonstration which shows an internal process of incorporating both parents into racial identity.

As the child reaches seven or eight, the period of ambivalence and exploration ends. The child reaches a point of reconciliation and self acceptance which incorporates both parent's heritage yet differentiates the child from his/her parents. This does not mean self exploration is over. We know self exploration in all areas is characteristic of the adolescent years and is now known to be common into the adult years. Spivey (1986) found biracial adolescents not overtly concerned or preoccupied with their racial identity. Jacobs (1978) demonstrated that a positive biracial identity does exist and that biracial children can move more naturally and independently towards a sense of biraciality.

Childrearing Complications

Interracial families find that they must come to some middle ground with child rearing practices which incorporate both cultural patterns. In black/white families, Falkner (1983) found white mothers became somewhat stricter than their mothers had been and black mothers became a little more lenient. Historically, white parenting has allowed much greater freedom to children than black parenting. Hamilton (1986) believes that interracial families must also overcome differences in caring for primary needs such as skin and hair care.

In general, interracial children have the same parenting needs as all children. They need to feel loved, to feel secure and to feel supported. They need to know that no matter what lifetime decisions they make, they are loved. Like all children, they need to develop personal competencies which will give them a sense of mastery over their environment and a sense of personal self esteem.

Parents of interracial children need to bring both cultures and languages into the home and to give their children extensive experiences with a wide range of ethnic and racial groups. They need to support their child's exploration of first one side and then the other side of his/her heritage. They

need to accept with patience and understanding the ambivalence and possible negativism this exploration engenders.

A child can be helped to incorporate both parents into his or her identity when offered an interracial label. Parents should accept what their children have to say about race before correcting them. They need to allow their children freedom to individualize without guilt or divided loyalties; for the first agenda in childrearing is to build positive self identity (Kich, 1982; Jacobs, 1978; Hamilton, 1986).

Developing Friendships

Williams (1981) found that interracial children are chosen as friends and playmates just as often as other children and that the ethnic background of both parents is represented in their repertoire of friendships. Spivey (1986) found interracial adolescents to have satisfying constructive relations with family and friends and to have keen social awareness which permits them to function successfully in many social arenas. In Williams' study (1981) socio-economic status appeared to have more significance in social acceptance than ethnicity and race.

Emotional Disturbances

Teachers in Williams' study (1981) did not refer interracial children any more than other children for emotional disturbances. Biracial adolescents in Spivey's work appear to be socially competent and to possess a clear sense of themselves (1986).

Dealing With Their Ethnic Heritage.

Biracial children speak of feeling special as well as different and unique. Kich (1982) found in his doctoral research on biracial adults of Japanese and White heritage that there is a need to explore the racial and cultural differences of first one side and then the other. During this time, the value of both sides together is still in process. This internal process may send messages of negativity to others. Hamilton (1986) noted anxiety among biracial teens over whether the white parent will feel rejected if the teens call themselves black. Hopson (1987) observed the same over whether the black parent will feel rejected if they call themselves biracial.

School Performance

In Williams' (1981) study, interracial children did as well as other children in school. Reading, writing, spelling and mathematics skills were found to be related more to socio-economic status than ethnic and racial group.

School Services

Interracial children have not been observed to need the services of psychologists, social workers, self-contained programs, nursing or speech therapists more often than other children (Williams, 1981).

Methodology

The information presented in the following pages represents conversations with interracial children. Seven interracial youngsters were asked to share their thoughts about being interracial. They lived in a diverse multicultural community in the Mid-West and attended schools where many races, ethnic and cultural groups were represented. Six of the seven youngsters were fourteen to sixteen years old; one was eleven. These children were easily located by talking with a few youngsters the researcher knew. They immediately suggested others and even procured their participation. The parental heritage of the children were: (Female) Ethiopian father/white mother, (Male) Greek mother/black American father, (Male) white mother/African father, (Female) white mother/black American father, (Female) black and Indian mother/white father, (Male) white mother/black father. A male with a Chinese mother and a white father did not attend.

Much of the discussion was video taped. The youngsters did their own filming and looked and acted at ease in front of the camera. The discussion lasted long after the filming and well into the lunch that was provided. None were prepared for the questions directed to them. The group took positions in front of the camera as if they were settling into their favorite chair before the family TV. The noticeable comfort in which they approached the topic was unexpected. At ease and in good humor, they discussed racial and cultural material with honesty and openness.

Findings

The Children

All the children had experienced racism in some form. Being teased about their biraciality appeared to be their most predominant experience. They had developed a defensive armor against such encounters and had in some ways developed stronger allegiance to their own identities due to this assault. The experience of biraciality had allowed them to experience more than one way of looking at the world. They felt they could fit into more than one ethnic or racial group and could get along well because they knew how to behave as well as how to verbally communicate with each other.

The youngsters continued to experiment with identity roles related to ethnicity and race in their adolescence. Going out for track, dancing in a certain way, ethnic dressing and use of a particular language were juxtaposed to doing what felt most like them. Members had moved into a period of resolution in which they had elected to go out for baseball, take karate, and speak whatever dialectic language they happened to feel was appropriate at the time. They had friends from numerous ethnic groups and expressed themselves in nonstereotypic ways. For the most part, they had decided that they could integrate both sides of their heritage and still differentiate themselves to themselves, family and friends.

The youngsters perceived the benefits of an interracial heritage to be a broad sense of ancestral roots. Knowing both sides of the story, frequently called "opposite sides," was viewed to be a great attribute. In many ways these children viewed themselves as a bridge between two cultures.

These children realized that many of their experiences had been based on skin color. Those who were lightest had experienced the fewest encounters with racism and they all knew this. They were fascinated by the variety of color and unique appearance of each group member and seemed to enjoy comparisons and shared experiences.

While families with biracial children adapted to physical differences in skin and hair care, the youngsters in this group felt it was humorous that there could be so much ignorance and confusion around it. They did not view their experiences as tragic, but instead viewed them as adding to their capacity to see both worlds.

The School

The school dealt with these youngsters as single race individuals, typically the race of the minority parent. Biraciality is never formally discussed at school. During parent/teacher conferences some teachers had refused to believe that the parents before them really belonged with the children named. Others had behaved with shock to the revelation. Some teachers took advantage of the cultural richness of the home by bringing both parents into the school to share of their ethnic heritage or just something special about themselves. The children noted how proud they were that their parents were active in school activities.

There was always some anxiety about introducing their biracial family to others. One of the reasons for this anxiety was their uncertainty about how school personnel and peers would respond. Another reason was whether or not their parents would embarrass them. They worried about how others would accept their family, not how they would be accepted.

The older youngsters were concerned about what race they would mark on college applications, SAT and ACT forms. There was disagreement whether they should have equal rights to their own box on the form or whether it was important at all. Many of the group members were concerned about whether they would find acceptance as adults and just what prejudice would mean for them and their own children. They wondered whether they would select other biracial individuals to marry.

Conclusions

These youngsters appeared to like themselves. They were familiar and at ease with multiethnic living. They had developed thoughtful approaches to universal complexities and expected good things from their futures.

Guidelines For The Schools

Keeping in mind the most recent research on biraciality and the conversations held with biracial youngsters, a number of guidelines for schools and teachers can be recommended:

Know the students' heritage and give clear messages of acceptance.

Do not expect stereotypic behavior from biracial children.

Recognize the children's multiethnic awareness.

Invite families into the school, so that the ethnicity of the family is recognized as natural.

Expose children to academic material which allows them to understand the historical and cultural antecedents of diverse genetic backgrounds.

Respond to biracial children as individuals with needs similar to all other children.

Do not make the interracial child feel like a model minority nor a super minority.

Stay alert to information and historical facts about mixed ethnic individuals.

Be aware that identity development in the interracial child is a developmental process and will be demonstrated in ways which appear to be negative at times.

Take into consideration social and economic levels and recognize the influence of these on biracial children.

Emphasize students' respect for themselves, their unique individuality, and the collective culture of our world.

Seek to build healthy self concepts which are based on a sense of pride in one's family and in one's cultural background.

Summary

All children should have the opportunity to explore their cultural antecedents and to recognize that every group has made cultural contributions. Universal desires such as love and self esteem transcend human differences. Children should be offered the opportunity to expand their own life style through contact with the mores and needs of other cultures. Children should learn that a multiethnic perspective increases our opportunities for harmonious coexistence and personal satisfaction.

RESEARCH POTENTIAL

Although research is beginning to deal with the interracial phenomenon in its natural context, further clarification and better understanding of the internal psychological mechanisms of the experience is needed. What influences do regional and socio-economic dimensions have on the experience? How do interracial individuals balance the inherent complexities of their lives? How is the interracial child's experience influenced by the ethnic and racial groups of both parents? How does the biracial child use his/her bilingualism in identity formation and in cross cultural communication? What can we say with true authenticity about this experience?

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SCHOOL HOLDING POWER IN THE UNITED STATES

Dorothy Waggoner

Youth and young adults in the United States are increasingly staying in school and finishig the twelfth grade. However, there are significant differences in the extent to which minority young people are progressing according to this measure. Differences in the dropout and the delayed schooling rates are indicative of the extent to which U.S. schools are holding and educating minorities and, by implication, of their success in meeting the special needs of these groups. This paper examines dropout data from the 1980 Census and the October 1980, October 1982, October 1984, and October 1985 Current Population Surveys of the Bureau of Census. It compares rates of dropping out for males and females and for Whites, Blacks and Hispanics; and rates for various age groups from age 16 to 34. It discusses the variations in the level of schooling completed by the 14 to 24 year old White majority, Black and Hispanic young people who were not in school in October 1982-- that is, at what stage in their schooling they dropped out. It probes to the extent that some students are older than their classmates, and the poverty status of the families of these young people.

More and more young people are staying in school and graduating from high school in the United States. In October 1970, 17 percent of all teenagers and young adults, aged 14 to 34, were school dropouts. They were not enrolled in school and they had not completed the twelfth grade and achieved that traditional rite of passage--high school graduation. By October 1980, only 13 percent of all 14-to-34-years-olds were dropouts. Among 25-to-29-year-olds in 1970, 22.5 percent were dropouts; among this age group in 1980--people who were 15 to 19 in 1970--13.9 percent were dropouts (NCES, 1982, p.68).

Dropout rates have continued to fall for all age groups as a whole in the eighties, except those aged 25 to 29, who had already surpassed the 20-to-24-year-old cohort in 1980. Moreover, the rates for youth, aged 16 to 19,--the age group of many people making the decision to complete high school or to leave--continue to be significantly lower than those of older age cohorts.

The data on dropouts in the total population of youth and young adults in the United States suggest that schools are increasingly able to keep young people in attendance either to acquire additional skills and knowledge for the

job market or to prepare for higher education. Unfortunately, the dropout data for the total population are not the complete story. When the data are examined separately for the White majority, Blacks and Hispanics, they show serious discrepancies in the degree to which the schools are holding and educating minority populations.

This paper examines dropout data from the 1980 Census and the October 1980, October 1982, October 1984 and October 1985 Current Population Surveys of the Bureau of Census. It compares rates of dropping out for males and females and for Whites, Blacks and Hispanics. It compares the rates for various age groups from age 16 to 34. It discusses the variations in the level of schooling completed by the 14-to-24-year-old White majority, Black and Hispanic young people who were not in school in October 1982-- that is, at what stage in their schooling they dropped out.

The paper also probes two factors which are frequently related to staying in school or leaving: (1) the extent to which some students are older than their classmates and (2) the poverty status of the families of young people and the employment expectations and experiences of those who leave school early. Data to examine these factors come from the 1980 Census.

The principal findings about dropout rates and dropouts in the eighties which are discussed in the paper are the following:

- The dropout rate for all youth and young adults in the age group 16 to 34 in the United States fell from 14.2 percent in October 1980 to 13.0 percent in October 1985. However, while making gains, Hispanics in this age group are nearly three times more likely than Whites, and Blacks, 1.4 times more likely, not to be enrolled in school and not to have graduated from high school.

- Young Blacks, aged 16 to 19, have virtually caught up with their White contemporaries in the extent to which they stay in school. In contrast, Hispanics in this age group are twice as likely to be dropouts.

- Hispanics not only drop out at higher rates than either Whites or Blacks, but they do so considerably earlier in their education than either Whites or Blacks. Half of the 14-to-24- year-old Hispanic dropouts in October 1982 had no more than a quarter of Whites and Blacks with this level of completed schooling. More than half of Whites and Blacks who drop out remain in school into the eleventh

and twelfth grades.

- Delayed education does not correlate with the proportions of students who drop out. Although Black dropouts remain in school longer than Hispanic dropouts, Black and Hispanic students are equally likely to be two or more years older than most of their classmates and about twice as likely as White students to be older. They begin to fall behind early in the elementary grades and by the eighth grade one Black or Hispanic student out of fourteen is legally old enough to leave school.

- The need of students to help their families financially does not correlate with the proportions of students who drop out. Black students are 3.6 times more likely, and Hispanics are 2.7 times more likely, to come from families with incomes below the poverty level than White students are.

- Financial need does not correlate with the work experiences of dropouts after they leave school. Hispanic dropouts are employed at about the same rates as White dropouts but Blacks are only about half as likely to be employed. On the other hand, Black dropouts are much more likely than either Whites or Hispanics to be "discouraged workers." They drop out of the labor force as well.

- The "pay-offs" of education are unequal. Young Black male high school graduates with no postsecondary education earn 75 cents, and Hispanics, 88 cents, for every dollar earned by similarly educated White males.

The paper concludes with comments on the implications of the findings for U.S. schools. It suggests that the high dropout rates, the low levels of schooling being completed and the delayed education rates of minority students point to the need for more programs which address the special needs of these students and which take into account their differing characteristics, including their language characteristics.

Because the data come from published sources in which the data from the question on race have not been cross-tabulated with the data on Spanish origin, the racial/ethnic groups are not mutually exclusive. The effect of not separating the data for Hispanic teenagers and young adults from those for their White majority contemporaries is slight due to the small number of Hispanics who identify themselves as White relative to the total number of

Whites.

Data from Current Population Surveys and data from the long form of the 1980 Census--the sample of approximately 19 percent of the households in the United States--are subject to sampling error. Differences in dropout rates between groups are said to be significant in this paper if the estimates, plus a minus two standard errors (their 95 percent confidence intervals), do not overlap. Figures in the text display differences in the dropout rates and years of schooling completed by dropouts in the groups studied. The table shows the estimated numbers of dropouts in the 1980s.

School Dropouts In The United States In The Eighties

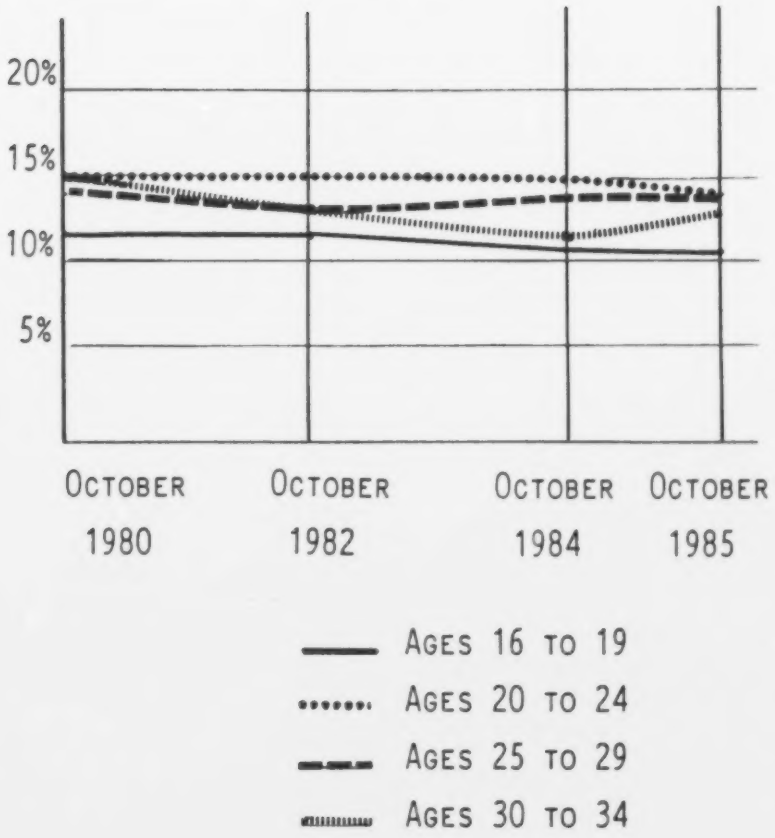
There were estimated 10.2 million dropouts in the United States, aged 16 to 34, in October 1980. In October 1985, there were an estimated 9.8 million. By 1985, the size of the population, aged 16 to 34, was 3.6 million larger than it was in 1980. Nevertheless, in 1985, there were more than 300,000 fewer people in this age group than in 1980 who were not enrolled in school and had not completed at least twelve years of schooling.

For all individuals, aged 16 to 34, the dropout rate fell from 14.2 percent to 13.0 percent between 1980 and 1985. The group aged 30 to 34 made the greatest gains proportionally--its dropout rate fell from 14.6 to 12.7 percent. Young people, aged 16 to 19 and 20 to 24, also completed high school at higher rates in 1985 than in 1980. The dropout rate of young adults, aged 25 to 29, stayed about the same between 1980 and 1985.

Young people, aged 16 to 19, faced with the immediate decision to stay in school or to drop out, are not only increasingly staying, according to the findings of this study, but their dropout rates are significantly lower than the rates of the older age groups. In 1985, the rate for the 16-to-19-year-olds was 2.1 percentage points lower than that for the second lowest group-- the 30-to-34-year-olds.

Figure 1 displays the downward trend of dropout rates in the 1980s.

Figure 1.--Dropout Rates By AGE Group.
October 1980 to October 1985

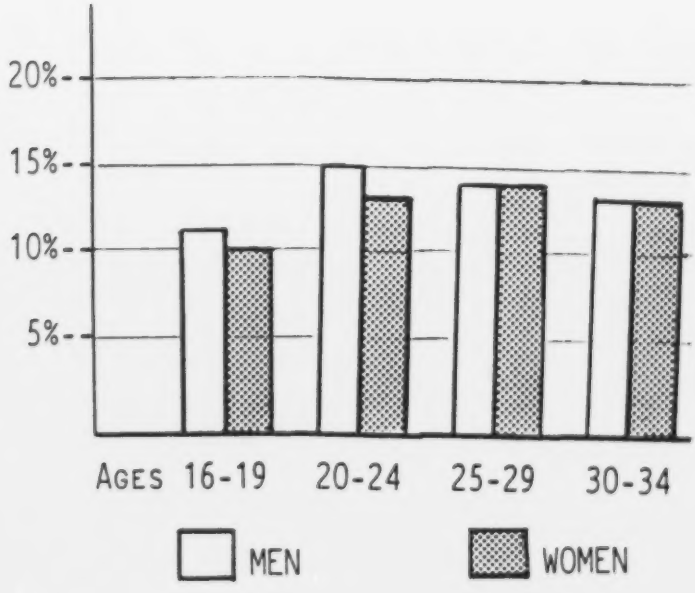


Male and Female Dropouts

High school dropouts, aged 16 to 34, are about evenly divided between men and women. In 1980, each group consisted of about 5.1 million people. In 1985, each was about 200,000 fewer.

Proportionally, young women seem to be completing high school at slightly higher rates than young men, as suggested by the 1985 rates in Figure 2. However, the differences between the dropout rates of men and women, aged 16 to 19 and 20 to 24, like those between men and women, aged 25 to 29 and 30 to 34, are not statistically significant.

Figure 2. -- Dropout Rates of Men and Women
By Age Group, October 1985

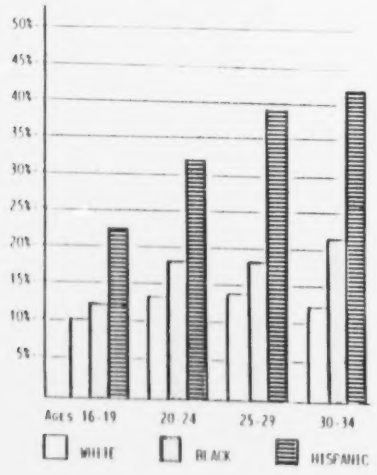


White, Black and Hispanic Dropouts

In contrast to the differences between the dropout rates for men and women, the differences between the rates for Whites, Blacks and Hispanics are dramatic. Hispanics, aged 16 to 34, are nearly three times more likely than Whites and twice as likely as Blacks in the same age group not to have completed twelve years of schooling. Blacks are 1.4 times more likely than Whites in this age group to have left school early. All groups as a whole made gains between 1980 and 1985, but because they started with higher dropout rates, Blacks and Hispanics in the age group 16 to 34 as a whole in the mid-eighties remain substantially behind White youth and young adults in the extent to which they are high school graduates.

The number of Hispanic dropouts, aged 16 to 34, increased from 1.9 million in October 1980 to 2.1 million in October 1985, despite the improvement in their dropout rate, because the total Hispanic population, aged 16 to 34, increased. The numbers of White dropouts fell from 8.1 million to 7.8 million; those of Black dropouts from 1.8 million to 1.7 million. As a proportion of the total number of dropouts, Hispanics constituted 18 percent in 1980 and 22 percent in 1985. The White proportion stayed about the same. The Black proportion fell a percentage point-- from 18 percent to 17 percent. Figure 3 compares the dropout rates of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics in the various age groups in 1985.

Figure 3.--Drop Out Rates of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics
By Age Group, October 1985

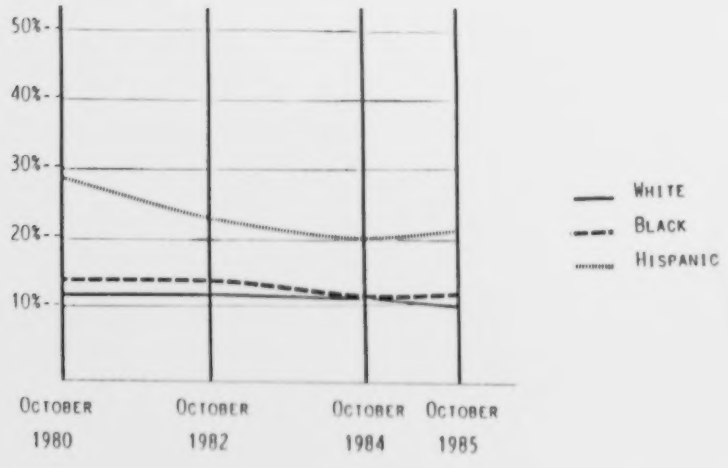


Sixteen-to-Nineteen-Year-Old Dropouts

The most striking finding about the 16 to 19-year-olds in the eighties is the extent to which Blacks in this age group are staying in school. Almost as many, proportionally, young Blacks as young Whites, aged 16 to 19, are still enrolled or have completed twelve years of schooling. Because many Blacks are behind in their schooling, some of these youth will still become dropouts. However, in contrast to young Blacks, aged 16 to 19 in 1970, who were twice as likely as their White contemporaries to have left school without finishing the twelfth grade (NCES 1982:68), by 1980 Blacks in this age group have virtually closed the gap on this measure and they have kept up with Whites since then. In comparison, young Hispanics were twice as likely as Whites and Blacks to be dropouts in 1980 and they have made little significant progress. The dropout rate for young Whites fell from one in eight in 1980 to one in ten in 1985.

Figure 4 displays the dropout rates of White, Black and Hispanic youngsters, aged 16 to 19, from October 1980 to October 1985.

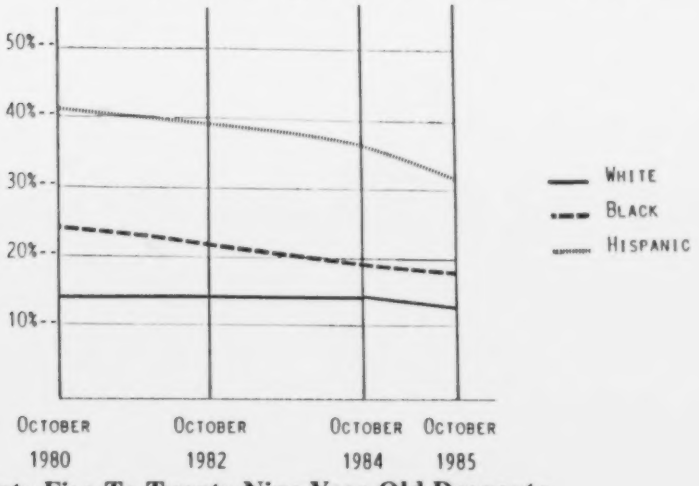
Figure 4.--Dropout Rates of 16 to 19 Year Olds
By Racial/Ethnic Group, October 1980 to October 1985



Twenty-to-Twenty-Four-Year-Old Dropout

Blacks and Hispanics, aged 20 to 24, have made significant gains between October 1985, as measured by their dropout rates. However, as with the 16-to-19 year-olds, Blacks are ahead of Hispanics in catching up with their White contemporaries. In comparison with one in seven Whites who was not enrolled and not a high school graduate, one in six Blacks and one in three Hispanics was not enrolled and not a graduate in October 1985. Dropout rates of the 20-to-24-year-old members of all three groups were significantly higher than the rates of the 16-to-19- year-olds. The dropout rates of 20-to-24-year-old Whites, Blacks and Hispanics from October 1985 are displayed in Figure 5.

Figure 5.--Dropout Rates of 20 to 24 Year Olds
By Racial/Ethnic Group, October 1980 to October 1985



Twenty-Five-To-Twenty-Nine-Year-Old Dropouts

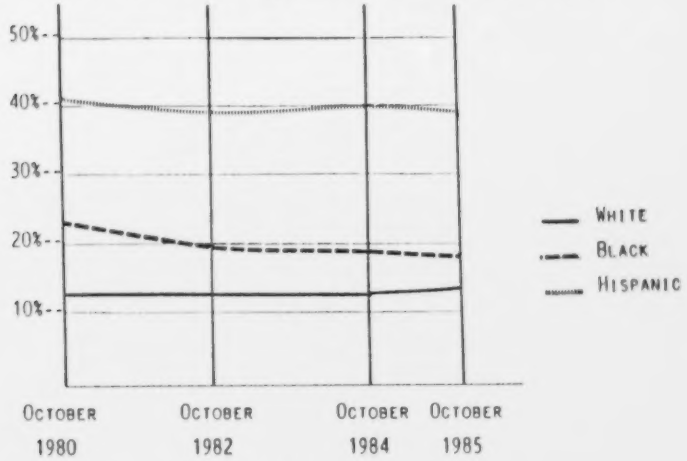
The dropout rate of Blacks, aged 25 to 29, improved between October 1980 and October 1985. In 1980, one of four Blacks in this age group had failed to complete high school. In 1985, one in six, was a dropout. This was about the same rate as Blacks in the age group 20 to 24 in 1985. The dropout rates of Whites and Hispanics, aged 25 to 29, stayed about the same between 1980 and 1985. However, comparison of the 1985 rate of Hispanics in this age group with that of Hispanics, aged 20 to 24 in 1985, seemed to indicate an improvement. In 1985, fewer than one in three of the younger Hispanics was

a dropout; two in five of the 25-to-29- year-olds were. The dropout rate of White adults in the 25-to- 29-year-old age group appears to have evened out at between 13 and 14 percent--about one in seven.

Hispanics in the age group 25 to 29 were more than three times more likely not to be high school graduates than their White contemporaries and more than twice as likely as Blacks in 1985. They constituted nearly a quarter of the three million adults, aged 25 to 29 in 1985, who were not enrolled in school and had not completed twelfth grade.

Figure 6 shows the dropout rates for the 25-to-29-year-old Whites, Blacks and Hispanics from October 1980 to October 1985.

Figure 6.--Dropout Rates of 25-29 Year Olds
By Racial/Ethnic Group, October 1980 to October 1985 .

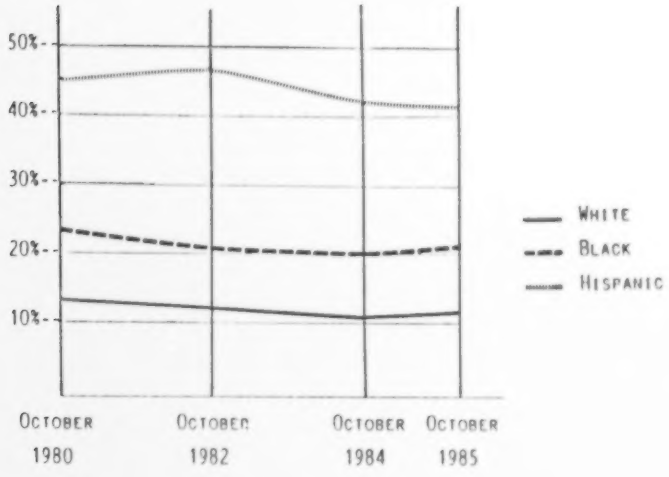


Thirty-To-Thirty-Four-Year-Old Dropouts

Hispanics, aged 30 to 34, are nearly four times more likely than their White contemporaries and twice as likely as Blacks in the same age group not to have completed twelve years of schooling. In October 1980, 46 percent of 30-to-34-year-old Hispanics and, in October 1985, two in five was a school dropout. Among Blacks, aged 30 to 34 in 1980, one in four was a dropout and in 1985 one in five was.

Figure 7 displays the dropout rates for the 30-to-34-year old Whites, Blacks and Hispanics from October 1980 to October 1985.

Figure 7.--Dropout Rates of 30 to 34 Year Olds
By Racial/Ethnic Group, October 1980 to October 1985

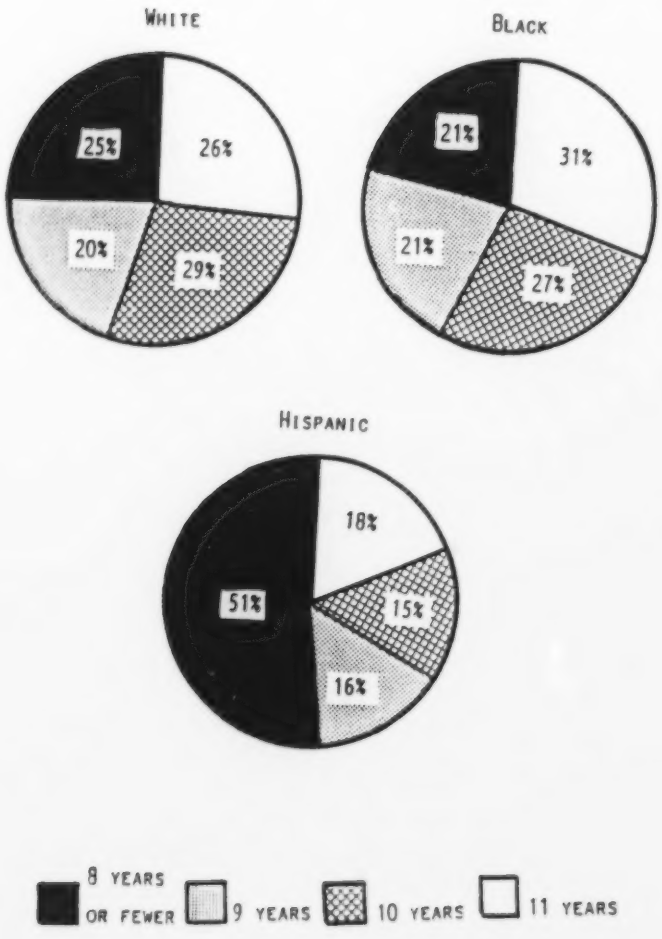


Years of Schooling Completed By Dropouts

The differences in the years of schooling completed by White, Black and Hispanic dropouts are even more startling than the differences in their dropout rates. Not only do Hispanics drop out of school disproportionately in comparison with Whites and Blacks, but they leave at earlier stages in their education. In October 1982, half of the Hispanic dropouts, aged 14 to 24, had completed no more than eight years of schooling when they left school. In contrast, a quarter or fewer of the White and Black dropouts had failed to complete at least the elementary grades and more than half had advanced into the eleventh and twelfth grades before they left school. These proportions are displayed in Figure 8.

Figure 8.--Years of Schooling Completed

By White, Black and Hispanic
14-24 Year Old Dropouts: October 1982



With the data available for this study, it is not possible to examine how many dropouts actually stay in school even through the eighth grade. According to a special analysis of the 1980 Census data for the State of Texas, 10 percent of Hispanic dropouts, aged 16 to 24, in that state had between five and eight years when they left school. These rates contrasted with 2 percent and 16 percent of White non-Hispanic dropouts and 3 percent and 14 percent of Black non-Hispanic dropouts in the same age group in Texas in 1980 (Waggoner 1986b).

Delayed Education in The United States

Citing the "host of difficulties" that can result when students are enrolled in classrooms with students younger than they are, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission stated in 1978 that "it should come as no surprise if it is found that those kept behind in school are more likely than others to drop out of school" (1978, p.5). The 1980 Census data on the proportions of students two or more years older than the model age at the grade level in which they are enrolled--the age of the largest number of students in that grade-seem to support this expectation for Hispanics but not for Blacks.

Blacks and Hispanics are almost equally behind their White classmates throughout the years they remain in school. Nevertheless, as indicated earlier in the paper, Hispanics are twice as likely as Blacks to drop out of school and many apparently do so as soon as they reach the legal school-leaving age.

In the fourth grade in 1980, 10 percent of Black and Hispanic students and 6 percent of White students were two or more years older than the model age of eight. In the eighth grade, 18 percent of Blacks, 19 percent of Hispanics and 10 percent of White students were two or more years older than the model age of thirteen. More than twice as many Black and Hispanic as White eighth graders, proportionally, were already school-leaving age, 16, (7 percent in comparison with 3 percent of Whites) and, at this point, as demonstrated by the data on the years of schooling completed by dropouts, many more Hispanics than Blacks, proportionally, leave school. In the ninth to eleventh grades, Blacks and Hispanics were twice as likely as their White classmates to be overaged (17 to 20 percent in comparison with 9 percent). In grade twelve the proportions of those overaged jumped to nearly a quarter of Blacks and Hispanics and 11 percent of Whites, as many young people, close to graduation, decided to stay in school to finish (Census 1984, table 260).

Poverty of Families With Children Under Age Eighteen

Black and Hispanic school children are much more likely to come from families with incomes below the poverty level than White school children are. In the 1980 Census, 36 percent of Black families and 27 percent of Hispanic families with children under age 18 reported incomes below the poverty level for their size and circumstances. In comparison, only 10 percent of White families with children under age 18 reported incomes below the poverty level. White families in poverty have fewer children to support than either Black or Hispanic families: 2.24 children in 1980 in comparison with 2.57 children in Black families in poverty and 2.61 children in Hispanic families. Clearly, many families need the additional income which young people who drop out of school to work might provide, even though, just as clearly, the young people sacrifice opportunities and future earnings by not finishing high school (Census 1984, tables 297 and 309).

Employment Expectations and Experiences of Teenagers

Many teenage dropouts do obtain work. Some fail to find work and become part of the statistics on the high unemployment of young people, especially minorities. Other young people who leave school without graduating from high school become "discouraged workers." They either never seek work or they fail to find it and cease looking. Youth who leave school before graduation are much less likely to be working and more likely to be "discouraged workers" than high school graduates. However, there are significant differences in employment rates and "discouraged workers" rates of White, Black and Hispanic high school graduates, as well as of dropouts in these groups. There are also differences in the "pay-offs" of education in the form of earnings of the young Whites, Blacks and Hispanics who find work. Although these differences undoubtedly influence the decisions of young people on whether to continue in school or to leave, there is no way to measure their effect.

Most White and Hispanic teenage dropouts either find work or continue actively seeking it. In contrast, the majority of Black dropouts become "discouraged workers." They drop out of school and out of the labor force as well. In 1980, the comparative civilian employment rates for dropouts, aged 16 to 19, were: for Whites and Hispanics, 44 percent; for Blacks 23 percent. The "discouraged worker" rates were: for Whites, 40 percent; for Hispanics, 45 percent, and for Blacks, 60 percent, a staggering three out of five.

Among high school graduates not continuing their education, Hispanics are less likely, and Blacks much less likely, to be employed, and both groups are considerably more likely to be "discouraged workers," than Whites. The comparative 1980 employment rates for 16-to-19-year-old graduates not continuing their education were: for Whites, 74 percent; for Hispanics, 63 percent, and for Blacks 46 percent. The "discouraged worker" rates were: for Whites, 16 percent; for Hispanics, 27 percent, and for Blacks, 38 percent. (Census 1983, tables 102, 143 and 153.

The difference in the labor force status of similarly educated White, Black and Hispanic youth are exacerbated by the differences in the "pay-offs" of education for employed Whites, Blacks and Hispanics. In 1979, Black male high school graduates with no postsecondary education and drop-outs who had completed one to three years of high school, aged 18 to 24, earned 75 cents for every dollar earned by similarly educated White males in that age group on the average. Hispanic male graduates earned 88 cents for every dollar earned by Whites. However, Hispanic dropouts who stayed in school at least until grade nine earned about as much as their White contemporaries with one to three years of high school education and Hispanic males with fewer than eight years of schooling earned more than similarly educated Whites (Census 1984: table 296).

School Programs and Policies and Dropouts

School programs and policies can make a difference. According to the Texas study, strategies which have been found in the literature to be effective in retaining potential dropouts include basic skills teaching, training in survival skills, individualized instruction and strengthened counseling and guidance. Effective programs include those combining work and study and those which involve the community, business and parents working in partnership. Effective programs are staffed by committed and caring teachers who have high expectations for their students (IDRA 1986:40). Basic skills teaching and individualized instruction for Hispanic and other language minority students must take into account their special language needs if the programs are to be successful.

The data used for this paper make possible broad generalizations about how minorities are faring in U.S. schools. These data suggest that too many youngsters--and, in particular, too many minority youngsters--are leaving school inadequately prepared to obtain meaningful employment and to realize their potential in society. The data suggests that school

administrators, teachers and parents need to devote more effort to learning why youth fall behind and why they leave school before graduation and to devising remedies to address the problems.

School policies can serve as disincentives to the retention of potential dropouts. Much attention has been paid in recent years to the quality of secondary schooling in the United States. One of the results of this attention has been the institution of minimum competency tests for high school graduation. These may assure that all graduates are prepared for college or other postsecondary experiences but they may also contribute to higher dropout rates, especially among minority students and those having difficulties with English. The dropout rate will also increase if students who believe they cannot pass the tests give up and drop out, or if school administrators, perceiving testing as an accountability device, are deterred from making needed efforts to retain students whom they believe to be otherwise marginal. Citing its finding that opportunities and incentives for the non-college bound have actually been reduced in recent years, the Hispanic Policy Development Project states that "efforts to improve the quality of education must be complemented by efforts to retain students in school; otherwise the nation will pay in a variety of ways to support less-than-productive adults" (1986, p.4).

Much more must be done, not just for dropouts or potential dropouts who will terminate their education in high school, but for those who, given a chance, will opt for higher education. It is hoped that studies such as this, which document the extent of the problem and its differential effects on minority students, will stimulate additional efforts.

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RETENTION OF THE LATINO UNIVERSITY STUDENT: STUDENT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AT CSULB

Genevieve M. Ramirez

After nearly twenty years of heightened awareness of Latino underrepresentation throughout the educational pipeline and major efforts to recruit greater numbers into higher education, little is known about what actually happens to those who enter postsecondary institutions. The Student Affirmative Action Program at Cal State University, Long Beach, designed with the identified needs of that population in mind, involves a comprehensive "package" of components whose effectiveness has been measured against the outcomes experienced by a comparable control group. The academic performance of Latino participants in SAA's first three annual cohorts was significantly better than the control group's, and their retention rates surpassed even those of majority students. This paper includes the SAA model, an analysis of the student needs, a program description, and an evaluation of documented participant outcomes.

For nearly two decades universities have been a significant focal point in discussions of civil rights and equal opportunity because of the critical importance of educational achievement to personal and economic opportunities for advancement. Since the late 1960's considerable attention has been given to identifying the numbers of minority students completing high school, their performance at that level, those admitted to college and their persistence toward undergraduate and graduate degrees, the nature of the institutions which they attend, and intrinsic factors presumably or reportedly affecting their experiences in college. Special access and financial programs have been created in order to encourage, permit, and enhance college opportunities for traditionally underrepresented student groups.

In California and the Southwest generally, the most steadily increasing community is also the most underrepresented on college campuses. For a variety of cultural, social, economic and academic reasons, during a period of approximately fifteen years even categorical programs have failed to bring a desirable proportion of Chicano students into California's postsecondary institutions. For that very reason, in the establishment of the new Student Affirmative Action Program in the state university system in 1970-80, for example, the "Hispanic" population was designated the primary target population on most campuses.

However, as institutions make sincere efforts to improve Latino student

participation, they lack data that track the actual performance and persistence patterns of individual students and, in that way, highlight specific needs and tangible outcomes. Programs devised for this population have been based most often on the limited experience or assumptions of their respective administrators. This study is an attempt to provide information based on the individual experiences of Latinos participating in the Student Affirmative Action Program at California State University, Long Beach, a metropolitan Los Angeles campus and one of the largest of 19 California State Universities. It is a typical commuter campus attended by over 32,000 undergraduate and graduate, full and part-time students whose median age is approximately 24-26 years. Demographically, the student body is predominantly Anglo, also characteristic of most universities (especially public institutions) even in ethnically diverse communities of the Southwest.

The data and information given in the pages that follow analyze the identified needs, interventions provided, and outcomes experienced by three consecutive cohorts of program students within the context of nationally recognized information. The extraordinarily high retention rates achieved by participating students, considering the magnitude of Latino underachievement and underrepresentation in higher education, and the documented experiences of that population, suggest that the features of CSULB's SAA program can be put forward as elements of a retention model.

For purposes of this study, retention is defined as the capacity to insure the continuous progress of a student toward a carefully considered and defined personal/career goal via academic endeavors.

Latinos In Higher Education: Access

Much has been written of the educational experiences of Latino students in grades K-12. Researchers have studied not only their comparatively low rate of persistence through elementary and secondary schools, but the numerous factors which presumably affect their continuance or withdrawal from formal schooling. The literature cites: alienation (cultural or personal) from the institution, academic retardation, economic pressures, migrant labor mobility, the role of differing values from those of the mainstream, and peer pressure.

While not the principal focus of this study, it is important to recognize that these factors dramatically reduce the pool of college-eligible high school

graduates. The California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC report (1985) on the graduating class of 1983, found only 15.3% of California's Hispanic high school graduates in the top 33% of their classes and, therefore, regularly admissible to the California State University. It also found that only 4.9% of them were in the top 12.5% and therefore eligible to enter the University of California.

The numerical reduction of Latinos within the educational pipeline is a serious concern even within the context of this study, since it makes the retention of those who do enter these institutions especially crucial. National figures are generally based on ninth grade enrollment as the baseline, excluding any prior attrition. Astin (1982) documents that for white students, 83% of that baseline graduate from high school, 38% enter college, and 23% complete a baccalaureate degree. For the Chicano and Puerto Rican population, however, only 55% complete high school, approximately 23% enter college, and 7% graduate. California figures (CPED, 1985) are marginally lower for white students (78%, 40% and over 20%, respectively). Hispanic rates slightly surpass the national averages: approximately 66% of Hispanics graduate from high school, 25% enter college, and about 10% graduate. Using college entrants as a baseline population, estimates suggest that approximately 30% of Anglos in the Southwest will begin their senior year and, presumably, graduate. However, less that 17% of Mexican American freshmen (already a small number) will persist to their senior year and approach graduation.

A further contributor to diminished numbers of Latino baccalaureates and graduate degrees is the fact that the overwhelming majority of Latinos who do pursue higher education enter community colleges. In California nearly 85% of Hispanic first-time freshmen are in community colleges, fewer than 2% annually receive the AA degree and only 3% transfer to baccalaureate granting institutions (2.5% to CSU and .5 to UC).

Finally, recent studies document enrollment gains in higher education, especially in the 1980's. However, these increases must be viewed in light of three underlying phenomena. First, they remain far behind Latino population growth rates. Second, increasing numbers of other Hispanics often mask declines in Chicano enrollment, a historically underrepresented target group. And third, aggregate data often overlook attrition by substituting new enrollees for those leaving the institution, so that graduation rates remain low despite growing enrollments.

Academic Performance and Persistence

A research conducted on large cross-sections of college students nationwide identified the following factors as significant enhancements of academic success: good high school preparation, good study habits, high self-esteem, relatively well-educated and somewhat affluent family background, entry from high school directly to a four-year institution, residence on campus, receipt of financial aid grants or scholarships and no need to work, and enrollment at a selective institution (from CSU, Ethnic Data and Higher Education, pp. 5-3, 5-4). Our experience has been that Hispanic-origin students, with limited exceptions, are almost item-for-item the exact opposite. Asked to identify the two main reasons why they or their peers must withdraw from the university, students most highly rated in order the following factors: need to support self or family financially, lack of interest/motivation/goals, time conflicts with job or family obligation, emotional inability to cope with college demands, academic underpreparedness, and poor academic performance. When asked what the campus might do to assist them, students most commonly cited increased financial aid resources, greater variation in course offerings, simplification of financial aid processing, more convenient course scheduling, more effective instructors, and improved financial aid information (Ethnic Data, Tables 6.4-6.9, 6,12).

While much has been written about these factors, our research has highlighted another key element: irrespective of family educational background (or support), performance in college is directly correlated with students' assumptions about college attendance during elementary and junior high school. Logically, early decisions produce a predisposition toward the activities that should result in better preparation. The effect of early expectations and secondary school retention rates is a consideration beyond the scope of this study. But for those who attend college, the initiative resulting from student expectations alone seems sufficient to mitigate many institutional and external factors that impede the progress of other students. Information reported by randomly selected SAA Latinos illustrates the impact of this factor and has strong implications for those who influence them most at earlier levels of education.

Unfortunately, most Latinos make late decisions as a result of peer influences, newly-discovered goals, or the influences of college recruiters offering special programs. Their underpreparation, indicated by low scores on standardized college admission tests, is verified by local placement or

proficiency examinations. Regardless of whether such measures can be considered valid indicators of potential, they do correlate with performance patterns. Latino undergraduates at CSULB, for example, have earned a 3-year average GPA of 2.48, .32 grade points lower than the Anglo average of 2.80 for the same period. Those whose grades are at the lower end of the continuum, i.e., those who bring the group average down, must be considered "at risk" academically and potential candidates for discouragement, withdrawal, or academic failure.

In addition to preparation (psychological and/or academic), a number of institutional barriers emerged in our examination of Latino student experiences. These are particularly critical for minimally prepared, marginalized, first-generation minority college students. They include:

1. Inadequate orientation and information

Traditional orientation programs--assuming basic knowledge of the college experience--are insufficient for most Latinos, who cannot absorb complex technical details related in meaningless jargon. Most of them expect college to be a more sophisticated and demanding version of high school, but they cannot translate that vague notion into practical terms. Many disoriented Latinos are truly lost within the university mainstream when they are expected to comprehend the content of orientation presentations and to pursue needed assistance or resources.

2. Poor planning and academic scheduling

Unable to rely on basic knowledge presumed by the university, minority students confront problems in their choice of courses or the ways in which they package their programs. A close examination of individual SAA student records has revealed the following troublesome patterns:

a. Course selection typically replicates the familiar high school curriculum of heavy reading courses. Math and science prerequisites and co-requisites are overlooked; and critical writing courses are postponed indefinitely by the apprehensive writers who need them the most. Generally, infrequent performance evaluation prevents even those who can identify their needs or know where to seek help from securing timely remedial or support resources.

b. Course scheduling is tightened as much as possible to accommodate other obligations, adversely affecting fresh concentration in each class

meeting and impeding utilization of campus resources, peer interaction, full participation in the university.

3. Limited support services

The recognized insufficiency of campus support resources for all students is especially critical for Latinos not usually socialized to pursue needed assistance aggressively, if at all. Separate, categorically funded services are often staffed by student assistants not fully qualified to provide the comprehensive assessment, advisement, and referral really needed.

4. Personal and cultural alienation

General alienation from the institutional mainstream is a phenomenon intrinsic to a large commuter institution. For Latinos, alienation is magnified by the cultural antithesis of bureaucracy and technological depersonalization, the absence of role models among university staff and students, the majority's lesser expectations of them, and the overt or subtle resistance to or resentment of affirmative action programs. Students surveyed, almost universally, reported: 1) no involvement in student organizations or attendance at campus functions, 2) a lack of close personal ties with peers, 3) very little contact with faculty outside of class time, and 4) minimal departmental affiliation or identification.

Besides the institutional issues, there are also a number of personal factors adversely affecting Latino persistence and performance, particularly a general lack of focus (career, major, procedural) and uncertainties about the accessiblity of those goals once defined, for academic as well as financial reasons. Cycles of disorientation, apathy, poor performance, doubt and disorientation ultimately undercut motivation for any student. The more prevalent problem for Latinos, however, is clearly the lack of firmly-established, compatible personal and career goals to be pursued through the university experience. Those whose conscious goal is "to go to college" meet it when they begin their first semester and lack subsequent direction to motivate their efforts. Many undertake majors chosen for them by others (parents, counselors, peers) because of presumed marketability or just the desire to please, even if these fields are contrary to personal strengths or values. Others lack outright either any area of professional interest or a notion of what they might do after completing a preferred major.

Probably the most often-cited causes of student difficulty are the least controllable factors and frequently also the most powerful ones. By far the

greatest (individual or family) element is fiscal need, including unavailable or inadequate financial aid, which causes the students to work far more than their studyloads allow. Fewer than half the SAA Latino students surveyed had been granted financial aid, and all of these had to work at least half-time while carrying full-time enrollment to qualify for their awards. Eighty percent of all those surveyed worked to support themselves, averaging just over 25 hours weekly, and about one-third of them had to contribute to their family's primary support during their college enrollment.

Finally, students are affected by cultural values which prioritize family identification and needs over individualism and interpersonal obligations over personal advantage, so often misconstrued as indicative of a devaluation of education. As the first generation to attend college, SAA students perceived their families as being morally supportive, but lacking an understanding of study obligations or the resources (fiscal and physical) students need and unable to spare them involvement in serious family emergencies that interfere with their attention to university obligations.

Student Affirmative Action At CSULB: A Retention Model

Established in the Fall '82, the Retention Component of Student Affirmative Action was created to provide a continuation of services to students who had received application assistance from the program's Outreach Component or who entered the university as new Latino and Black students (these being the most underrepresented groups in the university). Unlike participants in the established Educational Opportunity Program, SAA students are primarily regularly admitted, though a limited number of special-action admits have been serviced. SAA's goal is to work with new students through approximately their first year, at the end of which most are prepared to utilize mainstream university services independently. Program resources can accommodate only 100-200 new Black and Latino students annually in the mentor program, the component designed to assist new enrollees.

A. Program features

Since its initiation, SAA has offered a Summer Residential Program to provide orientation, basic study skills, academic advising, and exposure to some of the interpersonal dynamics students were likely to encounter in the coming year. Expansion of the program in 1985 has permitted the addition of intensive writing and math instruction and fall course registration.

Participating students are immediately assigned a principal peer advisor with whom they meet at fixed intervals to average approximately one meeting per month during their first year. Those deemed to have special needs are given frequent appointments until their satisfactory progress is verified. Though impossible during the early years of the program examined in this report, initial advisor contact with students (especially with those unable to attend the summer program) now precedes the opening of their critical first semester.

Sessions with advisors include academic progress evaluation (through concrete evidence),and referrals to tutorial, learning assistance, counseling, testing, learning disability, career guidance, financial aid, or other advising staff within the program or in other campus offices. Mid-term grade evaluations are requested of the faculty, and assistance for course selection and scheduling is provided. There is verification that basic university requirements are completed, and there are discussions about the advisement received from major departments and about career exploration. At each visit the student is given a copy of the file report of that session, including recommendations to be followed before the next meeting, and her/his next appointment.

Among a variety of goals and guidelines, the duties of advisors include helping students proactively to avoid many of the characteristic pitfalls enumerated earlier as contributors to attrition. Advisor-approved course selection represents not only different instructional/study modes but also a mixture of skills development activities (writing, reading, math).They also take general education, major, or elective solids, where the skills can be specifically applied. The effectiveness of that approach was verified by comparing the first year performance of specially admitted SAA students with a control group taken from a similar program. The latter received a GPA of 2.13 in a skills development and orientation curriculum in the fall but plunged to 1.67 in a spring program of general education solids. The SAA students seemed overwhelmed by an exclusively solid first semester (1.94) but responded very well (2.41) in a subsequent semester of continued study skill workshops, writing and reading development, and general education. (R. Evans, "Final SAA Mentor Program Report," September 1985).

SAA scheduling has also required breaks after two consecutive classes to ensure time for the use of academic support resources, faculty office hours, and either reflection on new material or preparation for the next class. Group tutorials have been used to develop study skills within the specific

context of course content, a concept now institutionalized under the rubric of Supplemental Instruction. Furthermore, advisors have given special attention to the discussion of career goals and choices of major because of the special impact that these factors have on motivation.

Though "only" students themselves (upper division and graduate), advisors are given cross-cultural training and a very thorough orientation to university programs, policies and procedures, and as much information as possible about frequent causes of difficulty. It is intended to anticipate student needs and to be able to intervene immediately and appropriately as problems arise. Serious or complex matters are referred to the program coordinator (full-time professional staff or faculty), who often makes an initial evaluation of each student and initiates more formal assessment as indicated. Since students have signed contracts to keep appointments and to follow advisors' recommendations, missed appointments generate an immediate letter routed through an instructor or sent home. Reported academic problems (e.g., by professors or tutors) result in immediate contact to provide firm recommendations or instructions for dealing with those areas.

The program's very intrusive, directive approach may be disputed by those who believe that students should be allowed to learn from their careless mistakes or ill-considered choices. Those premises are not denied by the program, whose findings indicate instead that most student difficulties result from general ignorance of the tremendous adjustment needed from the inner city high school to the university's real demands and expectations. Thus the proactive efforts, and the intrusive philosophy with which they are made, seek to establish sound foundations and academic patterns that will benefit students beyond their term of full program involvement. It will allow students to make knowledgeable judgments about priorities in future semesters. Limited staff resources discourage student continuance in these services for more than their first year; but even if additional resources permitted, the program philosophy discourages long-term participation, seeking instead to bridge students into an appropriate level of independence and utilization of all that the university has to offer.

The other aspect in which the program is unique is in the establishment and maintenance of faculty involvement. Believing faculty to be the key "players" in student retention efforts, the program has consistently utilized faculty as mentors, academic advisors, assessors, consultants peer advisors , instructors, and referral sources. The cooperation of the university's most respected faculty has been solicited not only to monitor individual progress but also to accommodate other services. Supplemental instruction, tutorials,

skills development workshops, and orientation programs are some of the means by which the program enables students to meet the high academic standards of their instructors. Outcomes of such efforts have been so positive that faculty members have requested to work with the program.

B. Student participation and outcomes

In the three (yearly) cohorts examined in this study, participants averaged 1.84 semesters in the program, ranging from a minimum of less than one semester to a maximum of four semesters. They saw their advisors approximately once each month (an academic year average of 8.2 meetings). Sessions included an average of 3.2 academic progress reviews per semester, and every student received registration advising for the following term. In addition, from either the advisor or the program coordinator, students received the following services:

34% were advised about (one or more) required university exams;
28% were provided personal counseling related to family crises home conflicts, personal problems, housing difficulties, or health matters affecting their academic performance;
24% required career counseling or assistance in choosing or changing their majors;
21% sought help with administrative procedures;
19% sought assistance with financial problems; and
13% received assessment of academic skills or evaluation for possible learning disabilities.

In the area of instructional support, skills development tutoring (math, writing, or study skills) was provided to one of every two students . Some received assistance in more than one area while others did not require help. For example, course-related tutoring was requested or advisor-recommended in one course for an average of 76% of the students. The greatest demand for tutoring occurred in the social sciences, math, and science.

In addition to the direct services which program staff provided, students were referred to offices or individuals who could offer more specialized services. Diagnostic evaluations by SAA advisors or program administrators resulted in individual student referrals as follows:

71% tutorial programs
18% professors or departmental advisors
15% test preparation workshops

13% the Career Development Center
11% study skills workshops (Learning Assistance Center)
07% the Adult Learning Disabilities Program
06% the Financial Aid Office
05% the Counseling Center

Problems experienced in offices expected to be academically supportive were handled directly by the SAA administrators and the respective program supervisors. Therefore, these are not reflected in the referrals enumerated above.

In 1984-85 SAA devised a control group to better assess program effectiveness in the critical first year. An ethnically comparable population of new students not serviced by an affirmative action program was selected to compare their performance measures with that of the participants. Latino SAA students (regular and a limited number of special admits) earned a cumulative GPA of 2.45 in their first year, compared with the control group's 2.25 (all regular admits). Both groups had completed the same total number of units (21.4). While actively participating in the SAA retention program, all Latino students earned an average GPA of 2.51 and completed an annual average of 22 units.

Although a recent persistence rate for Latinos at CSULB is not available, systemwide data for the California State University and the University of California might be considered general indicators for purposes of evaluation. In the Fall 1985, UC Berkley's Office of Student Research reported a record-high second year return of 82% of Chicanos and 83% of Latinos from the freshman classes of 1980-81 and 1981-82 (An Overview of Freshman Persistence and Graduation at UC Berkeley, October ,1985). The same document cited a five-year persistence rate (continued enrollment or graduation) of 51% of Chicanos and 53% of Latinos, compared with 34% and 38% in the CSU for the same groups.

During Fall '85, the number of SAA participants who had entered CSULB in 1982-83 or after (principally freshmen from target high schools but also including transfer students) reflected that: 73% of the original 48 Latinos had been retained to begin their fourth year in fall 1985 or had graduated; 60% of the 20 who entered the program in 1983-84 (a major program modification) had begun their third year; and 88% of the 50 who entered in 1984-85 enrolled in fall 1985 for a second year. The SAA students were primarily regularly admitted (89% in 1982, 70% in 1983, and 79% in 1984), though most originated from the same types of predominantly

minority inner city schools (high schools or community colleges) as those who required special admission consideration from the Educational Opportunity Program. See Table 2 below.

Table 2
Persistence rates: SAA Latinos

		enrolled Fall 1985 or graduated
entered	1982 - 83 (48)	73%
	1983 - 84 (20)	60%
	1984 - 85 (50)	88%

Using Berkeley's retention figures as a basis for general comparison (expected academic preparation presumably correlated with performance demanded by each system), SAA persistence rates are comparable and, thus, extraordinarily high for any CSU population strand.

Table 3
Comparative persistence rates
Latinos at UCB vs. SAA at CSULB

	Berkeley	SAA, CSULB
began second year	82%	85%
began third year	73%	71%*

* Aggregate data, for Latinos entering program in 1982-83 and 1983-84.

Special admit SAA students show improved retention by comparison with the sample special-admit population used as a control group for the purpose of evaluation. Those serviced by SAA have persisted as follows: 67% completed two years and began a third year (control group, 39%), and 71% completed one year and began a second one (control group, 61%). Of this special admit SAA population, 70% participated in the program for at least one academic year and left the SAA mentor program in good standing, while the remaining 30% either left the mentor program prematurely or were transferred into the SAA probation intervention program developed in recent years.

It is not known what percentage of all CSULB Latino students have ever been on probation nor for how long. An examination of the complete academic record of SAA participants indicates that 34% of those in the

1982-83 program were on probation for an average 2.2 semesters, beginning most commonly during a semester in which they had minimal or late contact with advisors. The records indicate that 32% of those in later cohorts of the program averaged 1.58 semesters on probation, a shorter period which is probably the result of the more frequent and more direct interventions begun within the program in 1983.

All those who entered the mentor program in good standing (having completed a semester or more prior to program entry) left it in good standing and raised their GPA's from 2.15 to 2.52. All those who entered already on probation left in good standing, having raised their GPA's from 1.73 to 2.58. Those who began the program as new university students left it or completed the Spring '85 semester as follows : 84.4% in good standing and 15.6% on probation (of these, 8.9% were regular admits and 6.7% special admits).

Table 4
Academic Status (3 SAA cohorts)

entered program	program beg. GPA	program end GPA	Sept. 1985 good standing	Sept. 1985 probation
continuing students				
good standing	2.15	2.52	100 %	----
probation	1.73	2.58	100 %	----
new students	0.00	2.30	84.4%	15.6%

An overwhelming majority (87.5%) of the SAA students who had been in probation first experienced unsatisfactory progress in their first university semester. Nearly all students in the sample had been essentially on their own in that critical first semester,since the initial pre-semester contact began in 1985-86.

While attention is appropriately directed to the difficulties and needs represented by poor performance, it must also be noted that the cumulative GPA of 20.3% of the SAA Latinos in the three cohorts here discussed is above 3.00, so that one-fifth of them meet eligibility criteria for the university honors program (compared with 11.4% of Chicano and 15.1% of other Latino undergraduates).

Conclusions

As resources continue to be invested in generating applications from groups underrepresented in higher education, the retention of those historically excluded students becomes a moral, fiscal, social, political ,and academic imperative. This study represents an effort to identify the needs and experiences of Latino students who enter one particular campus. Specifically, it attempts to document the effectiveness of a strategy which appears to have had a significant impact on the target students performance and persistence. There remains a tremendous need for more information, especially that derived from this type of individual tracking, rather than from aggregate data. There is a lack of research that assesses the relative value of the individual components which comprise programs like this one. The fact that most parallel programs have not documented similar retention rates or other outcomes suggests that its unique features are particularly significant, although the specific impact of those elements has yet to be evaluated.

In the discussion of retention statistics and possible efforts to enhance them, it is appropriate to acknowledge that only large prestigious universities or small private colleges tend to have high retention rates. In some respects, it may be intrinsic to large public institutions, whose students enroll for very diverse reasons, to have high attrition rates. However, for students whose stated intention is a degree, and who enter the university with expectations about the manner in which and the calendar within which those goals can be met, a responsive institutional perspective is called for. Based on the findings which this study presents, the following general recommendations can be enumerated with specific reference to Latinos, though their implementation would clearly benefit any student.

1. Provide new students (or those experiencing difficulty) a basic and comprehensive academic support program as their first point of contact.

2. Provide professional staff to assess and meet the needs of the students effectively.

3. Implement a comprehensive program which includes a number of critical components. These essential services can be provided directly or can be obtained through referrals to indicated campus professionals in mainstream programs.

4. Facilitate personal accountability and involvement. Accountability and involvement must exist between: student and advisor; instructor, student, and advisor; and professional staff, student, and advisor.

5. Plan an appropriate time for each intervention. Timing will determine, to a large extent, its effectiveness.

6. Consider the cultural background of the students and its impact on the institutional experience.

Retention requires a university wide effort . It demands the participation of all university segments, not merely of those formally charged with the provision of student services or academic support resources. What has been proposed above would benefit all the students, certainly, but it is critical to any effort to improve the true access of Latino students to higher education after they have been accepted into the university. It is presented as a total package, because while anything less than a holistic approach to services would have at least temporary benefit, the long-term value of retention efforts is dependent upon the combination of a comprehensive approach with ongoing monitoring of student progress and experiences. The model emphasizes that an ideal environment to enhance the retention benefits which academic support services provide would include increased faculty; administrative, faculty and professional role models; and an appreciation on the part of university employees for the cultural values of Latino students.

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SOME RESEARCH-BASED ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS EXPRESSED AT THE SEMINARIO INTERNACIONAL SOBRE LA EDUCACION BILINGUE

Ernesto M. Bernal

The first Seminario Internacional Sobre la Educacion Bilingue, held in Oaxtepec, Morelos, Mexico in November 1986 under the aegis of the National Association of Bilingual Education and Mexico's Secretaria de Educacion Publica, brought together some 65 researchers from Canada, the United States, and Mexico. They shared current research findings and discussed policy issues in bilingual education faced by each country. Great differences in the social, linguistic, and political contexts for bilingual education were revealed, but most notable were the contrasting philosophical postures of these governments and the pedagogical responses of their educational institutions.

The research issues related to bilingual education are numerous and varied, but assume greater range and depth in the context of an international symposium. Such was the case when the first Seminario Internacional Sobre la Educacion Bilingue, under aegis of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) and the Mexican Secretaria de Educacion Publica (SEP) brought together representatives from Mexico, the United States, and Canada to share ideas, experiences, and points of view on bilingual education. This paper focuses on research and research-based related ideas, conclusions, and recommendations made in Oaxtepec, Morelos, Mexico during November of 1986.

A summary of the historical developments of bilingual education in the countries represented and characteristics of current practices from the point of view of the participants follows.

The bilingual situation in Canada(1) was characterized by an increase in linguistic diversity. In the 1960's Canada established a Commission on Bilingualism to deal with the challenges presented to education and government by this heterogeneity. Canada's official policy is bilingualism within a multicultural framework. French and English are the country's official languages, but there is no official culture. Canada views itself as a linguistic and cultural mosaic (as opposed to the "melting pot" notion in the U.S.). Canadian society consists of approximately one-third native Anglophones; one-third native Francophones; and one-third native speakers

of other languages, called heritage languages, spoken by indigenous persons. Immigrant groups make up the fractions to equal 100 percent.

While Anglo-conformity still exists in the educational system, clearly the attitude towards bilingualism and bilingual education has become one of enrichment. Remediation through bilingual education is not the goal. Immersion in Canada emphasizes the minority language, and that superficial comparisons between U.S. and Canadian versions of the immersion model forget to mention that in Canada bilingualism, not transition or language replacement, is the goal of bilingual education. Bilingual education is seen as a way to extend the franchise, promote educational achievement, and forge a national unity.

Mexico(2), was characterized as one country in which linguistic diversity is primarily among the indigenous peoples. There are approximately 8 million indigenous people in Mexico, approximately 56 tribal groups, most prominent in the northern and southernmost states. Most of these tribes were not actually conquered -- neither by the Spanish nor by their mestizo descendants -- and so do not demonstrate the problems, psychological or social, of a defeated group. They simply maintain their cultures and languages in the process of ordinary, daily living, by and large.

It was indicated that Mexican Indians have not been overwhelmed because there is a certain tradition of indigenists (indigenistas) that began with the "conquistadores" themselves. From the very beginning there were Spaniards and, later, Mexicans who spoke in behalf of Indians and who fought for Indian rights against those who would have subjugated them to achieve their own visions of national unity. Moreover, it was reported that Mexico now officially recognizes its multicultural-multilingual character, and prides itself for it. Hence, Mexico appears to represent a more balanced view, seeking on the one hand to extend full educational opportunities and "castellanizacion" throughout the country while involving the indigenous peoples themselves in the process, accepting their identities, and reinforcing their cultures. Mexican educators believe that the process cannot be effectively carried out without the active, prescriptive participation of each community and its bilingual teachers, and are committed to finding "adequate pedagogies" (pedagogias adecuadas), and explicitly reject all forms of "aprendizaje violento" (imposed learning) which they believe can only compromise ethnic identity and damage the individual personality.

The report from the United States (3) revealed that the history of bilingual education is essentially compensatory, i.e., a pedagogy based on a

deficit hypothesis. Numerous political struggles have historically surrounded the bilingual education movement and are currently expressed in the English-only/English- first movement. It was emphasized that some states might eliminate all languages but English from the schools if they could.

It was opined(4) that the U.S. possesses the greatest potential educational resources, but seems to be the furthest behind in its attitudes toward bilingual education and in its appreciation of cultural diversity. Bilingual education as usually practiced in the U.S. was described as transitional. This, coupled with the pressure to see results in English achievement tests quickly, was perceived to be responsible for many abuses. These include the nominal labeling of programs as bilingual when in fact there is little or no use of native language for instruction, and the premature consequent exit or reclassification of children, to their later academic detriment. The result is that subtractive bilingualism has become a hidden agenda. The schools' unwillingness to modify mainstream education in any way but to relegate limited English proficient (LEP) students to compensatory programs illustrates the second-class status of language-minority students.

At the recent period of U.S. educational history when minority-background educators were entering the public school systems in unprecedented numbers, certain steps were taken in the name of educational excellence which served to inhibit this trend, e.g., teacher competency testing. By not allowing the complexion (literally) of public education to change, the status of the public schools in the majority voter's eyes might perhaps not be diminished, or so it would seem. An interpretation of these developments given was that key United States policymakers have used governmental resources to suppress all expressions of ethnic ascendancy in the public schools in order to preserve public confidence in and financial support for these institutions. Bilingual educators are left to wonder if the schools intend to enhance the education of non-dominant ethnic groups or to limit their social mobility and participation in U.S. society.

Research Issues

While there were several research papers presented at the Seminario Internacional, numerous research-related points were also made throughout the sessions.

From Canada(5) some provocative ideas in the use of computers to

promote reading and writing as ways to develop academic skills were discussed. The discussion centered on ways in which students can interact with other students locally and in remote sites through computers. Cost-efficient examples included international students exchanging, planning and executing joint study projects through computer networks. Such exchanges through the medium of computers stimulate thought and cross-cultural understanding in very meaningful ways, thus promoting a humanizing education while developing academic skills.

Also from Canada (6) a concern was presented about curriculum and program evaluation of Indian education. It is apparent that evaluations of these programs did not take into account any local goals but used Anglo standards of student achievement exclusively. There are 65 indigenous languages in Canada, but most groups are small, isolated, and deeply divided. They comprise some two percent of Canada's population. Although there is widespread use of compensatory education for indigenous children, only 20 percent or so of them are LEP. Indians who receive a formal education often refuse to speak their native language when they return home because their L1 has not matured and they would be ridiculed if they were to speak it. It is unfortunate indeed that formal schooling compromises indigenous children's native language and cultural participation.

A study (7) of the education of indigenous peoples in Mexico shed doubt on the efficacy of the current Mexican ideology toward indigenous populations. It was expressed that only the test of time will determine the government's true willingness to teach literacy in the native languages of indigenous tribes.

It should be noted that no other presentation galvanized the participants' perspectives quite as much as Bilingual Education Research: Searching for a Paradigm, a Mission, and a Future (8). The author maintained that current evaluation and research studies have inadequate designs and need a radical shift in focus from whether bilingual education works to the investigation of how new educational technologies can be used in the classroom and how cognitive and information processing theories can be made relevant to bilingual teachers, how bilingualism can become a window into the human mind. It was stressed that these types of issues have not been dealt with by bilingual researchers because they lack a paradigm for investigation, hence a randomness of pursuit for knowledge has resulted. There is a need to define critical knowledge issues, not educational or policy issues. A new paradigm would lead research to a "higher level."

Bilingual researchers lack a Mission, such as the health professions have seeking a solution to particular diseases. While excellence in education is a Mission, bilingual education and Head Start are missions, viewed as special and easily criticized. The result is that funds to carry out adequate research in bilingual education are not available. Instead the only real Mission in compensatory education is cultural homogenization. Bilingualism is acceptable for the cosmopolitan and educated elite but it is to be eradicated for all the rest.

The above presentation concluded with the observation that without a research base, policymakers are free to formulate laws and regualtions to fit their own agendas. A Mission must surface to capture the interest of these policymakers, and a research paradigm must be formulated which is more closely tied to research and development (R & D) than to program evaluation. The goal should be to produce a language-competent society.

Participants highlighted the fact that no paradigm per se has been proffered. Disagreement was voiced over the idea that knowledge, educational issues, and policy concerns could be easily divorced from each other. Any new paradigm for research should look at these three elements simultaneously. R & D was viewed as an activity closely related to evaluation, since it is inevitable for bilingual education to be scrutinized for effectiveness. Questions were raised regarding current scientific research methodologies capacity to deal with all the complex variables found in classrooms. A belief that the general population of the U.S. will not give educators a mandate for bilingual education, irrespective of what evidence for its effectiveness in uncovered, permeated the discussion.

The need to provide a political-historical perspective to study bilingual education was emphasized. Otherwise, researchers would substitute more "scientific" approaches for social science research efforts and thereby produce a pseudo-science. Another concern pointed was that the evaluation of programs tantamounts to an evaluation of bilingual education. Federally mandated evaluations are often conducted prematurely, i.e., before the bilingual programs have had a chance to bear fruit.

The participants articulated the general tenor of the meeting. There was a consensus that any new paradigm for research should enrich appropriate social science methods so that complex phenomena such as bilingualism and bilingual education can be explored to the fullest.

Work Session Reports

The different sessions on research, teacher training, and programs generated a number of research-related ideas or considerations.

A concern that some Native American tribes do not want their languages to assume written form, was expressed. This would make their languages accessible to non-Indians, and they do not want to lose their languages by sharing them (10).

Participants expressed that the insufficient use of LI by teachers, and the short exposure to bilingual education are some of the reasons why in the U.S. bilingual programs have failed to produce good results. For bilingual programs to succeed, they must be integrated into the regular curriculum, and materials of equal quality must be available. Bilingual education must lose its remedial connotation, and to achieve this its advocates must enlist the support of middle class Americans by demonstrating that bilingual education has a payoff for their children as well.

The need for a theory of bilingual learning based on schemata was expressed. Such a conceptualization could account for changes in the mind as a result of experience, and help explain the obvious transfer of learning evident in more mature persons who are in the process of acquiring a second language. Furthermore, it could explain how in a linguistically appropriate environment, an active and involved LEP student can use his/her repertoire of secure schemata to acquire new ones while maintaining a sense of dignity.

Handicapped bilingual children were not overlooked at the Conference. One report(14) indicated that there are no differences on Piagetian conservation tasks between monolingual and bilingual groups of educable mentally retarded (EMR) Spanish- speakers. This implies that bilingualism does not adversely affect the cognitive performance of these children as in the case of non-handicapped students. Thus the common wisdom of teaching LEP EMRs in English was not supported. A concern was expressed in relation to gifted students. There appears to be a research basis to support the use of culture-specific definitions of giftedness to select children for these programs. Such definitions require further research, since there is a notable lack of appropriate diagnostic materials for non-mainstream, linguistic and cultural groups.

An additional issue related to research findings on Mexican Indians and the aspirations of Mexico's bilingual programs was voiced. Traditional educational efforts are responsible for the fact that many Mexican Indians --

according to their parents, their teachers, and a review of academic measures -- have not become adequately fluent in Spanish and have lost some fluency in their native languages. However, it was expressed that Mexico realized that it must build the native languages of these children and that the only way to achieve equity for language- minority children is through a bilingual program whose clear goal is language maintenance.

Conclusion

Several conclusions based on research and the Canadian experience were drawn(16). They are:

1. Bilingual education is a national resource, hence learners and their parents must be given a choice about participation in either transitional or maintenance programs.

2. Research and evaluation (R & D) models for bilingual programs should lend themselves to accountability and basic research.

3. While there are tests and techniques for estimating children's language proficiency, new scales which are more clearly developmental need to be prepared.

4. Some mental skills necessary to do well on certain kinds of tests are test-circumscribed skills and have little or no relation to real life. Instead, the development of different cognitive profiles may prove more appropriate.

Furthermore, it was clear that the three countries represented very diverse settings, attitudes, and practices vis-a-vis bilingual education and language-minority populations. What was interesting however, was how receptive the participants were to the more professionally daring and politically liberal ideas which either grew out of research or were proffered for their heuristic value. What began as an orchestration of potentially interesting general topics, specific papers, and thematic roundtables quickly evolved beyond that point. Succeeding presentors seemed to find new energy from previous presentations and appeared to build upon them, thus modifying and enhancing their prepared talks. There was a definite departure from traditional thinking, attitudes, and praxis at the Seminario, and a tendency to see research, evaluation, and curricular innovation as complementary. This cross-national meeting was notable for both the generation of new ideas and the affirmation of the need for more holistic and politically unapologetic approaches to the field of bilingual education research and practice.

Commentators

1 Jim Cummins presented the Canadian perspective.

2 Miguel Limon Rojas presented the Mexican perspective.

3 Ricardo Martinez standing in for an ailing Joshua Fishman, reviewed the educational situation in the United States.

4 Ernesto M. Bernal (USA).

5 Jim Cummins (Canada).

6 Barbara Burnaby (Canada).

7 Gabriela Coronado (Mexico).

8 Written by Amado Padilla (USA) and presented by Clementina Pateno Gregoire.

9 Michael Canale (Canada).

10 Janice Schroeder (USA).

11 Gina Cantoni (USA and Italy).

12 Hugh McKeon (Canada).

13 Jean Handscombe (Canada).

14 Marilyn Johnson (USA).

15 Rafael Gamallo (Mexico).

16 Michael Canale (Canada).

17 Alexis Lopez (Mexico).

CULTURE AND THE FRENCH CANADIAN: A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL

Georges Duquette

This paper will consider the existing minority language situation of French Canadians in Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime provinces. Highlighted will be the historical, political, social, and educational aspects of bilingualism in Canada. It will consider French first language programs, French Core and French immersion, and their effects on Canadian Society. A special focus will be placed on the role of culture as a possible means of ensuring language retention. Finally, it will offer some directions in light of existing or promoted current 1st and 2nd language programs in Canada.

The primary goal of this paper is to describe bilingualism in Canada from a historical, political, social, and educational perspective. A second and subsidiary goal is to explain whether or not French Canadians can avert assimilation to become, culturally and linguistically, full and equal partners in the Canadian Confederation.

A Historical Perspective

The first half of Canada's European-based history was under French rule. Deep French historical roots and the existing climate so open and favorable to the enriching influences of bilingualism today are two factors which promise increasing opportunities for Canadians to further develop the bilingual character of Canada.

However, three other significant influences tend to downplay and diminish this possibility. The first factor is that Canada borders on the United States of America, whose culture and language dominate business, the media, and most areas of publication and entertainment. Its influence is world-wide and Canada, is most directly affected by its cultural and economic policies. The result is that majority language in this hemisphere is English. A second factor is the immigration rate into Canada, adding to the possibility that Canada will become multilingual and multicultural before it becomes fully bilingual and bicultural. While this will encourage and promote a multicultural country, it is important that the cultural groups be encouraged to develop their culture and language in depth so that they will not be overwhelmed by the majority language.

The third factor is the proportional reduction of French Canadians relative to the increasing growth of Canada. The reduction in birth rate in Quebec, the high rate of assimilation in provinces in and out of Quebec, coupled with the separateness of group identities and non-direct cooperation between French Canadians and other cultural groups, create the possibility of reduction of bilingualism and biculturalism which could benefit French Canadians now and be of benefit to all cultural minorities in the long term.

A Political Perspective

Federally, there has been an increase in political will and determination in implementing bilingual programs that would serve the needs of French Canadians in their own language. Politicians at the Federal level have become increasingly conscious of the importance given to the winning of seats in Quebec in order to gain a greater majority and also to be more truly representative nationally.

As a result of these programs, Canadians are becoming more conscious of the realities of Canada and of their distinctiveness as Canadians. These effects have been particularly felt in provinces such as Ontario and New Brunswick which have large populations of French Canadians and border on Quebec. In other provinces, the changes have not been so remarkable. The additive and substractive forces given below indicate to some extent the kind of ongoing struggles that need resolution. These forces are contrasted in Chart I.

CHART I
ADDITIVE AND SUBSTRACTIVE FORCES IN CANADIAN BICULTURALISM AND BILINGUALISM

Additive Forces	Substractive Forces
1. Canada has a strong central Federal Government which has representation from French Canada and which supports official bicultural and bilingualism.	1. Many provincial governments offer little support or some resistance to official bicultural and bilingual programs.

2. The Federal Government funds and provides services in support of official biculturalism and bilingualism.	2. The tendency is for provincial governments to take advantage of federal programs, and accept less responsibility for their own minority language population.
3. There is one province in Canada which has a French Canadian majority--Quebec.	3. In light of the continued rapid assimilation rate in the other provinces, Quebec is on the defensive and is concerned about safe-guarding its own culture and language interests.
4. French is becoming more popular in English language schools. Immersion programs are in demand and core French programs in Ontario have now become compulsory.	4. Large numbers of anglophones go to Quebec each year to learn French, and they meet and converse with a population in Quebec now anxious to learn English. What the effect of these inroads in the province will be remains to be seen.
5. With more English speakers acquiring French and native speakers wishing to keep their English language, there will be more French tomorrow.	5. In most provinces except Quebec, French and English speakers continue to live primarily in a culture. Can a language not rooted in its authentic culture survive in the immersion process of English Canadian and North American culture and language?
6. French language schools exist across the nation.	6. These schools are under provincial jurisdiction.
7. Heritage, culture and language programs have been intorduced in the Toronto schools, and are encouraged elsewhere in the country where large numbers warrant.	7. There is little visible organized cooperation among Canada's aboriginal peoples, ethnic populations, and French Canadians. Unless ties are created, the situation can unfortunately become competitive and divisive.

8. The increasing immigrant population in Canada is good news in favor of minority language groups, such as the French Canadian.	8. There is a move toward the acceptance of a stronger majority language and more generally appealing, less threatening, milder form of multiculturalism.
9. Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick are bastions of biculturalism and bilingualism.	9. Populations in Western Canada and the rest of the Maritime provinces have not fully accepted the idea.
10. French Canadians at one time accounted for one-third of Canada's population.	10. While the number of French Canadians remains significant within Canada, its proportion to the entire population is decreasing. In the large North American context, they are a minority.
11. French Canada has its own radio and television networks.	11. There is really no national French Canadian newspaper. French Canadian radio and television cannot compete with English Canadian and American programming.
12. French Canada has its own writers, artists, performers, etc.	12. French Canadian music, its culture and general way of life are being shaped more and more by the predominantly English North-American lifestyle.

A Socio-Economic Perspective

Bilingualism is considered to be an asset in Canadian society, the extent depending on each province. Western Canada has for a long time felt it was alienated from the rest of Canada, particularly because Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec) has been perceived in Western Canada as receiving more political attention than other regions. While the rivalry between Western Canada and Ontario has been primarily economic, Western Canada has never really accepted bilingualism due to the political advantages which are apparent in the province of Quebec. Since Westerners already feel

alienated, they find it difficult to accept that the English speaking provinces should have to consent to the bilingualism policies designed for Quebec and supported by politicians from both Quebec and Ontario. While many Westerners recognize the need for such policies, the general mood is not favourable to the concept of nation-wide bilingualism.

The Eastern provinces, on the other hand, have appeared to be more tolerant in their expressed attitude. Perhaps this is due to the presence of a bilingual province in their midst (New Brunswick). Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island appear to have a more open attitude. In Newfoundland, there has been much resistance to the idea possibly because, like Western Canada, they appear alienated (geographically and politically) from the rest of Canada. However, there are some signs of change there as well. Everywhere, French is flourishing due in large part to the development of French language and French immersion programs, largely, promoted by such groups as Canadian Parents for French. Still, socially, resistance continues to exist and bilingualism is not easily accepted.

In Ontario, with the advent of the new Liberal Government (elected in 1986 with a large majority), French language services continue to be extended. In Quebec, with the coming to power of a separatist party in the 1970's, and its defeat in the 1970's, the situation has changed considerably. While some parts of the population are very much concerned with the protection of the French language, its general population is now very eager to learn English. It appears that given a choice between cultural and linguistic identity and economic prosperity, many are now choosing the latter option (L'Allier 1986).

A Perspective On Education

The demand for French (primarily French language schools and French immersion programs) continues to be a high priority among Canadians. In Ontario and in many other parts of the country French language schools are granted wherever the numbers warrant, and the pressure for French immersion by English speaking parents continues to be very strong. Also, there have been efforts to improve the core French curriculum in English language schools. The success of immersion programs has increased the number of students interested in participating in these programs. However, the lack of qualified teachers and the realization that acquiring a second language takes an extended period of time have prompted researches, parents and educators to search for alternatives. There have been renewed

efforts to improve the core French curriculum in English language schools in light of the findings presently available from French immersion programs. The initiatives appear to be meeting with some success. Whether these will complement or replace existing immersion programs remains to be seen. Still, research findings relative to Canadian immersion programs (Lapkin and Swain, 1982) are consistent with what is known about language acquisition: the mode of acquisition and amount of time spent in acquiring a second language remain crucial determinants of competency.

Today, the situation is much different than it was at the turn of the century when Bill 17, a law requiring all citizens in Ontario to be educated in English, was first enforced to be later revoked. Canada is now (especially with the new Charter of Rights) officially bilingual, French and English.

In Toronto, however, multiculturalism is the key word, not bilingualism. Recently, the Toronto School Board initiated a series of programs in which heritage languages can be taught to children whose native language is not English or French. There has been some debate on the issue, but there has also been considerable enthusiasm and support for this venture. In Western Canada, language heritage programs exist and many ethnic Canadians, who might not have supported official bilingualism and biculturalism, feel differently about this venture since they come from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

In Quebec, Northern Ontario, and New Brunswick, the debate is still over bilingualism, but in Toronto, Western and most of Atlantic Canada the concern is as much with multicultural education and heritage languages as it is with bilingualism. In Newfoundland, there also exists a different alienation: some residents identify more with the U.S. and others with European countries.

In March of 1987, there was a Constitutional Conference on Aboriginal rights which ended in a stalemate between the Federal and most Provincial Governments with respect to three of the Western Provinces. The interesting aspect of these negotiations is that Quebec, not signatory to the Constitution, could have made a difference. The impass which was reached is a "turning point", with many possible different directions.

The Meech Lake Accord which recognized Quebec as a distinct society and brought it into the Canadian Constitution provided a momentum that could later give greater status to the Aboriginal peoples. Interestingly enough, the Meech Lake Accord was criticized by the native leaders for

giving too much to Quebec and not enough to them. It appears that there is a long way to go before cooperation can bridge the differences and bring the diverse cultural groups together.

The end result is that there remains a concerted effort to expose all students to the French language in school and, where the numbers warrant, to have students strengthen develop their first language. It is recognized that one's first language should be encouraged and developed along the lines of the other two official languages. However, although the ideals have been clearly expressed, reality often falls far short. Finding the money for these programs in such a large country where the population is so dispersed, and the experts to meet the needs whenever they are expressed are two problems which in themselves are not easily resolved.

The Culture and Language Perspective

It has become increasingly clear that culture as well as context are essential for language acquisition purposes. In Canada, the North American culture pervades most contexts in which language is naturally acquired. However, because of the clustering of large communities with different cultural backgrounds (including the larger French Canadian popularity) the first language is often nourished and encouraged to develop due largely to the preservation of institutions which generate activities which are rooted in a culture more or less authentic to the language which is being spoken.

Speech is but one aspect of language, developed along socially agreed-upon symbols (Bryen, 1982). Luria (1976) states that non-verbal language precedes speech, and if we analyze the early stages of language development (Bryen, 1982; Manolson, 1983), we recognize that language is intricately linked with established routines and contextually learned behaviors (Wardhaugh, 1976). A growing child learns not only what to say, but also where, when, how, and why to say it. The information in context dictates the socially agreed-upon interpretation of these variables, and culture, in addition to context, needs to be considered in the language acquisition process. As language is more than speech, culture is more than language (Hall, 1966, 1973).

Culture, then from this perspective, is an essential factor in the understanding of the language acquisition process. It can be described as "an infrastructure, the interactional behavior through which people lock themselves into the patterns which they have created" (Gearing, 1984, p. 39).

Culture can therefore be defined as a conditioned and organized system of perceptions and behaviors.

Research was carried out (Duquette, 1985; Duquette, Dunnett, & Papalia, 1987) to find out whether or not the increased use of authentic language materials (materials produced by native speakers for native speakers -- Begin, 1982) in a kindergarten classroom had an effect on cultural identification and language production, and to explain the findings through background ethnographic analyses of classroom structures and routines.

Quantitative findings indicated a significant difference in the language production of the experimental group with the control group. The experimental group increased in cultural identification, language, structure, and vocabulary.

Ethnographic findings demonstrated that:

1) The pupils spoke English, the majority language, unless they were in the presence of the teacher who invited them to speak French or they had to contend with French concepts (the pragmatic implication was that the pupils spoke English unless they were required to speak French).

2) Early on, the children were unfamiliar with authentic materials and were uncertain discussing them. However, this changed with time.

3) Given longer term exposure, pupils responded better to French content, speaking more and laughing at humorous situations, confirming high involvement with the materials.

It was therefore determined that authentic materials provided pupils with more background information as to the French Canadian way of life, the way native speakers use the French language, facilitating language acquisition and contributing to an increase in language production in terms of structure and vocabulary.

Perhaps the most interesting insight into the effects of this experiment occurred when the teacher noted that pupils in the experimental class spoke mostly French when discussing authentic French programs while in the control group, the pupils appeared to switch more often to English when discussing French translations of English programs. This incidental

observation raises the issue of cognitive processing of language. It also brings forward the issue of whether or not dissimilar, concept- driven processing of a first language from a second language at a cultural level not only affects encoding, but also the retention and recall of that language.

With the exception of the Province of Quebec and other culturally alive first language homes and communities across the country, the English and North American culture pervades the society. In the area where the above research was carried out, the pupils were unfamiliar with authentic materials. Those whose language appears to survive most often come from homes where they think, live, and behave in French, and continue to have strong links with a French community. Since cultural rearing and self- identity are intricately related in modelling perceptions and shaping behavior generally and language behavior specifically (Linton, 1977), it is understandable that manipulating French concepts in French, for instance, will be much more natural to one who has the background culture than to one who does not. The other's inclination will, of course, be to manipulate the concepts in English, and the preference will increase for English concepts as these will be more familiar and easier to manipulate in that language.

In Canada, French language schools, churches, and community organizations attempt to keep the bicultural/bilingual flame alive. The Federal Government has provided funding and opportunities, but provincial governments are slow to change and their damper is "bone chilling" to the French Canadian minority language population because of the influence the provinces have over cultural and educational affairs. One strong indication of the trend in our society is that although children with special needs in most provinces are promised special education services, language assessment and development services to children with special needs from minority language homes are not available. Such services are still provided only in English.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important that the Canadian government and people analyze and understand the kind of country being built. A truly bicultural/bilingual Canadian temperament may well enhance the multicultural, multifaceted character of the nation. This analysis must be conducted in light of the historical, political, socio-economic, educational and cultural language perspectives which affect it.

More research needs to be encouraged on the effects of programs in bilingualism and multiculturalism. Which federal programs promoting bilingualism and multiculturalism are actually working and which are not? How successful are these programs in different areas of the country?

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CULTURAL DIFFERENCE OR DISABILITY: REDEFINING THE EXPERIENCE OF FOUR HMONG STUDENTS

Lila Jacobs

This study describes the first school encounters of four Hmong children and their traumas over time as they attempt to belong and participate fully in classroom learning activities. Their low achievement levels are viewed by the school personnel as signs of learning disabilities. Using ethnographic research methods, especially participant observations and interviews, the study focuses on how children become increasingly aware of their differences in cultural values, and attempt to cope with the high levels of stress they experience in school. Teachers, on the other hand, adhere to their own training and values and demand compliance with cultural norms of performance. The Hmong children under study show deep frustration and hopelessness as they fail to engage meaningfully in learning activities. The study offers suggestions for the implementation of educational policies and practices which deal with Indochinese students, and explores possible directions for future research.

An area of growing concern for people involved with issues of equity is the relationship between language minority students and special education (Christensen, Gerber and Everhart, 1986; Rueda, 1987; Trueba, in press). The numbers of these children placed in learning disability programs are growing in disproportionate numbers. The time has come to search for the underlying causes of this phenomenon and to question the assumptions upon which the diagnoses are being made. Are great numbers of these children really handicapped, or are their cultural differences determining their placement in this category?

Setting

The research site is located in a densely populated town in southern California. The population is equally divided between a university student community, and a minority community consisting of a growing number of Hispanics as well as a number of southeast Asian refugees. The Hmong people from Laos are part of this latter group.

As of 1986, the La Playa elementary school had 591 students. Over half

of these students - 298 children - speak a primary language other than English, with 24 languages represented. The largest ethnic group, other than Anglo, is formed by 136 Indochinese students, including 77 Hmong, 31 Laotian, and 28 Vietnamese.

Programs offered by the school include reading and language laboratory, a learning disability resource program, and Spanish/ English bilingual education. Part-time instructional aides and student teachers assist in the classrooms. Two psychological counselors are on site one day per week. While there are some Hispanic teachers, the largest number of school personnel is Anglo. There are no Asian adults employed by the school.

Sample

The four Hmong students under observation, all third graders, were referred for study by their teachers. Pao and Vang, two Hmong boys, were in the same classroom, reading group, and learning disability class. The other subjects were a male, Chou, and a female Song, who were together in another classroom, reading group, and lab.

Pao and Vang had been classified as learning disabled, while Chou and Song were being considered for recommendation to the disability program. Their teachers, the resource specialists, and the school psychologist agreed that these children did not correspond with the "normal picture" of learning disabled students. The perceptions of the school personnel concerning these four students were that their skill levels fluctuated randomly, and that they exhibited behaviors and coping strategies that did not fit into the school's definition of acceptable.

To better understand these Hmong refugees, it is necessary to include a short historical perspective. The events leading up to their present relocation in California are complex and they are an integral part of the cultural heritage and the psyche of the community members. The Hmong in this community left Laos after the U.S. troops pulled out and the Hmong military leader, Vang Pao (who had been trained by the U.S. CIA), fled to Thailand (Lee, 1982). Many of the La Playa Hmong made the journey to Thailand on foot, a difficult and treacherous undertaking.

The traumas of survival in these life or death circumstances continued into the refugee camp experience. The necessity of satisfying the conditions required by the U.S. Immigration authorities often called for altering the

roles of wives, ages of children, religious beliefs and family alliances. The trauma of entering unfamiliar settings and of degradation experiences continued into the resettlement journeys and persists today in the resocialization process of resettlement (Kirton, 1985).

Methodology

The observations took place over a two month period in which the researcher was on site daily for the entire school day. Classroom observations were divided by time periods, and at any one time period only one student was the unit of observation. Some time was also spent in the homes of the students while interviewing the parents.

In order to be as inclusive as possible, the research makes use of multiple ethnographic strategies (McDermott and Roth, 1978; Trueba and Wright, 1981; Spindler, 1982; Trueba, 1987). These include participant and non-participant observations, structured and non-structured interviews, and analysis of school files.

All interviews were audio-taped, and were conducted with each of the four students and with the two classroom teachers. At school, interviews were also done with the reading specialist, the learning disability resource teacher, the classroom aides, the student teachers, the language specialist, the school psychologist and the counselors. The parent interviews were done with the help of a translator who is fluent in the Hmong language and is a trained ethnographer.

Research Findings and Analysis

The research documents differential participation and skill levels of these four Hmong students in the specific context of their daily school tasks. Their different classrooms, reading groups, and resource classes, allowed observations of the students in diverse groups, and working with adults using different teaching strategies.

The theoretical frame used for analysis incorporates Vygotsky's (1978) theory of mediated learning. Fundamental to this perspective is the interactive nature of cultural transmission. The process results in acquisition or non- acquisition of the ability to understand and manipulate the symbolic systems of culture (D'Andrade, 1984; Trueba, in press).

The Vygotskian framework also makes use of the "the zone of proximal development," rather than test scores, to determine what a student is capable of doing (Cole and Scribner, 1974; Vygotsky, 1978; Griffin, Trueba, in press). This zone is determined by the child's experience in a mediated learning situation involving both the teacher (or more knowledgeable peer) and the learner in a meaningful interaction. This interaction is impossible if the child is in isolation. Consequently, a strong linkage was seen in the relationship between participation and skill level; high levels of participation increased skill level and vice versa.

The four case studies reveal some important observations regarding emerging patterns of behavior and themes for discussion:

1) All four children have problems "tuning in" or paying attention and engaging in academic activities. They are bored, uninvolved, unaware, and often not participating at all. The causes for the lack of participation are multiple. It is likely that the lack of participation is the best coping mechanism available to children who do not find the academic tasks meaningful. Remarks made by children that "it is too hard" indicate that instruction is geared in format, content, and delivery to the mainstream child. Those who do not share mainstream language and culture are left behind at an increasing pace.

2) These children, to varying degrees, have all been uprooted and traumatized in the process of relocation, which contributes to the problem outlined above. The consequences of this have affected their physical and mental health as well as their entire family systems. Therefore, efforts to cope with the school are only part of the overall adjustment these children are making (McDermott and Hood, 1982; Trueba, 1983, 1985; Delgado-Gaitan, 1986). A more obvious manifestations of this process of adjustment is the dilemma between assimilation to the language and culture of the United States through rejection of Hmong language and culture.

3) Some of these children are classified as "learning disabled" even though school personnel can not articulate clearly the nature of their problems. The definition of learning disability is vague enough to allow for other factors to enter into the diagnosis. There is a process of "social construction" in the consensus of the school personnel. At times, the arguments used to initiate the classification are weak or false. At best, the ultimate argument made is that children cannot function in regular classrooms and cannot respond to instructional efforts conducted in English. However, there is a relatively rigid curriculum with a content which is foreign

to other than mainstream children, and there is a participation structure which tends to isolate or demoralize students who ignore the cultural or linguistic norms of the school.

The nature of the educational system, including the pressures exerted on classroom teachers and school psychologists, makes it seem that classifying a low achieving child as "learning disabled" is the only option available. There are, however, important differences in children's performances to caution psychologists and teachers from using general labels and from accepting the implications attached to such labels.

Home and School Culture

This research also documents the conflict between values of the home and those demanded by the school. In the Hmong refugee community, the main concern of the family has been basic survival. High rents, medical problems, low income, access to information through translation, and transportation problems are the major concerns of the family. Money is a crucial element of survival, and consequently all adults in a household usually work if they can find employment. This leaves childcare and chores to the grandparents and older children, competing with time for study and homework.

In addition, most parents do not have a concrete idea of what their children learn in U.S. classrooms and thus invest the teachers and the schools with a "magical ability" to teach the children "everything there is to know." Although the parents verbally support the importance of the school, they have little substantive knowledge of what would help their children to be successful in the educational process.

The school experience of the parents has little in common with what happens in the schools their children now attend. The status of teachers in their home country made communication between teacher and parent impossible, and the Hmong parents continue to operate from this frame of reference. Stories about schools in Laos, told by Hmong parents, provided insight as to why parents are so happy with U.S. schools. They said that in Laos, teachers inflicted harsh punishment--making children kneel on pointed rocks or making a friend inflict lashes on another student.

Lack of English skills further adds to the lack of understanding between parents and teachers. All the parents in this study indicated that no

translator was available during school conferences, and that they did not understand what the teachers were saying. This later appeared on school files as, "Parents did not react or seem concerned." Teachers were not aware of the language and cultural barriers, and falsely interpreted silence as lack of interest.

Conclusions

The data presented has helped to explain the complexity of the adjustment process that Hmong children have to make in order to be able to learn effectively. The cultural and linguistic differences are so great that they affect profoundly all instructional activities. School personnel tend to oversimplify the task of helping these children, and they tend to fail to comprehend that many of these children cannot function in the present classrooms. Consequently, they surmise that the children must be disabled. In some instances school personnel have important information regarding the traumatic history of relocation of these Hmong families, but cannot understand why some children take longer to adjust than others.

Classroom teachers do not accept that one to one contact with students is a viable means of teaching (Iannacconne, 1963). This is viewed as tutoring, a mode of teaching left to the aides. The result is that the children with most needs are left to work with the least skilled adults.

Given these circumstances, children seek to adjust in a number of ways. Some children withdraw and remain isolated, others attempt to overcompensate with anxious overparticipation, while others fight back (Trueba, 1983). The Hmong children are culturally more inclined to select the first two alternatives. A significant implication of this study is that without the appropriate intervention by school personnel, the problems of these children will only get worse. Their increasing deterioration in participation and performance levels has been observed over a period of time. One reason for this deterioration process is the high emotional cost for children who attempt to maintain a high level of engagement in school activities while their efforts yield very few learning and success rewards.

As mentioned earlier the problem of adjustment for these students is further complicated by the often well-intentioned but ineffectual home support, due to the parents' lack of familiarity with the culture of the schools. It is apparent that without a viable support system in the home, these students will continue to fail. Just as importantly, parents who cannot

provide that support suffer diminished respect in the eyes of their children, causing a breakdown in traditional family systems.

As the students fall behind in their work, more pressure is placed on them to "catch up." Instead of trying new strategies the tendency is to "push harder" using the same unsatisfactory methods, thus producing the same unsatisfactory results. When this happens, an amplification of the stress occurs, as illustrated by Song's behavior in her constant over-erasing and her manner of speaking in a barely audible whisper. Participating without the skills to perform successfully becomes traumatic, and withdrawal is a natural response to a painful experience.

The case study of Pao, who will not even look at the teacher, is also a classic example of withdrawal. By cutting himself off from the teacher and the classroom experience, the opportunity to learn is no longer available to him. Withdrawal and isolation are part of the vicious cycle of academic failure, and unless a positive intervention is made, the factor of time becomes a negative variable, and the achievement remains on a negative course of decline.

Positive reinforcement, cooperative learning, self-esteem, motivation, and the cultural relevance of instructional material played an important role in the engagement or lack of it for these students. Pao's case illustrates this point. In the classroom group he was completely disengaged, but working in a one to one situation or writing in his private journal Pao showed a dramatic difference in his abilities. Increased levels of competency were manifested when he was engaged in meaningful interactions with the teacher and tasks.

Implications of the Research

Many issues have emerged from this study that current research must address. They include: problems specific to the refugees, the education of teachers for crosscultural classrooms, and the empowerment of culturally and linguistically different parents to take an active role in their children's education. Furthermore, there are notable implications for teacher education and school administration.

Specifically, results of this research deal with the policies that govern the learning disability programs in the schools. The current trend of placing language minority and culturally different children in these programs is typified at La Playa School, resulting in a over-representation of minority

children in these programs. The data reveal a lack of clarity and inconsistency in the use of the learning disability label. The common characteristics of these children indicate that they do not fit into the parameters of the performance and behaviors expected in the classroom.

Unless interventions to halt the cycle of academic failure are employed, alienation and withdrawal will continue to lead to isolation for linguistic minority students. This will result in a dropout process beginning at the elementary school level. Solutions other than labeling children learning disabled must be initiated to allow meaningful mediated learning experiences that are relevant to students, regardless of their cultural backgrounds.

The study clearly indicates that students are not individually responsible for their alienation and increased isolation, but that they function as part of a system that includes the entire school, the community, and the larger society. The observations reflected in this study are manifestations of a systemic failure. Unless this is recognized, and withdrawal and isolation are seen as crucial factors interfering with the learning process, appropriate interventions will not be discovered. Rather, there will be more of what is happening now, inaccurate labeling of children in an attempt to rid the classroom of "misfits".

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HMONG REFUGEES AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Joan Strouse

This paper regards the encounter between Hmong refugees, immigration policy and the U.S. educational system as a study of the capacity of the educational system for accomodating student differences and for responding to newly arrived refugee students. It documents the extreme case of the Hmong refugees in terms of language, culture, and ethnicity. This study highlights the inherent failings and incapacities of the educational system.

The Hmong, a closely-knit agricultural tribal people, have lived in hilly regions of Laos. These regions in Laos are as distant, culturally as well as geographically, as possible from their settlement in the U.S. Their language has recently been provided with an alphabet, but few Hmong are literate.

Beginning in the mid 1970's sixty thousand Hmong--probably a majority of them-- were airlifted to the United States. They came not to join families, or to supply skills the U.S. needed, or because they had become enamored of some version of the American Dream--the standard reasons for immigration. Their arrival here was a consequence of U.S. military ventures in the Indochina War. The Hmong had been recruited by the CIA to serve as mercenaries against rebel forces in that region (Kourman, 1979; Catlin and Beck, 1981). After the rebels won, the Hmong had to leave; the U.S. government, acknowledging responsibility for their uprooting, decided to absorb them into the American public. Few migrations have required as much cultural adjustment as that of the Hmong in their recent evacuation to the United States. Thus, immigration policy, in this instance, became a part of foreign and military policy.

The politicization and militarization of refugee policy, however, stopped at the U.S. border. Foreign policy considerations determined who would be admitted and when. Domestic considerations determined what happened to the refugees thereafter. Two factors largely shaped the resettlement policy which resulted. First, the federal government was concerned that the refugees not become an annoyance or burden to any community, since this might undermine public support for the foreign policies which resulted in the resettlement (Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, 1981). The second factor was the weight of the traditional U.S. stand toward new entrants, which requires their acculturation and eventual assimilation.

The result was a policy which attempted to quickly transform the Hmong individual from what he or she was--a member of a distant Asian hill tribe--into a socially integrated, English- speaking, self-supporting U.S. citizen (U.S. Congress, 1980). The Hmong were to be dispersed among the U.S. population, and enclaves were discouraged. Federal support for resettlement had a short, 18-month time limit. The schools, the nations' chosen instrument of acculturation, were called upon to bring about the cultural transformation. The resulting consequences proved to be disastrous for the Hmong.

Consequently, a case can be made for regarding the encounter between the Hmong and the U.S. educational system as a case study of the capacity of that system for accommodating differentness and for responding to the needs of who are, in a number of ways, the neediest students. The extreme case, which that of the Hmong admittedly is, can make the inherent failings and incapacities of the system visible.

The Hmong: Federal Intentions and Educational Reality

The Federal government's plan was for the Hmong to be integrated immediately into mainstream U.S. society (Barnes, 1977). The government provided financial support for eighteen months (shortened from the original thirty-six), after which, it assumed, the refugees would be able to fend for themselves in the U.S. labor market. The key to long-term adjustment was the public school system, which would turn out English-speaking Americans whose heritage would presumably be little hindrance in the drive for success in the new land of opportunity. This plan did not succeed. Though the refugees had little control over their fate, they soon found the means to defeat the plan in every particular--and simultaneously to take what steps they could to fulfill the needs not addressed by the Federal policy (U.S. Congress, 1980).

First, they clustered. Many communities lost their Hmongs while others sprouted Hmong neighborhoods. Then the Hmong, like other immigrants before them, set up community institutions which eased the burden of adjustment and provided a measure of familiarity in an otherwise wholly alien environment.

Second, they failed to conform. It was obviously impossible for the Hmong to live like their agrarian ancestors, but they seemed to have tried. The Hmong used every opportunity to use garden plots wherever they could

be found in the city, and in their windows a variety of potted herbs and spices could be seen. Less picturesquely, the Hmong adults remain largely illiterate, and few speak any language but that which they used in Laos.

As a result, the Hmong have failed to "make it" in their new urban U.S. home. Lacking any transferable job skills, they remain largely unemployed. Even the few who have found work are paid so little that they and their families are dependent on various forms of cash assistance. For all but a handful the U.S., so familiar to many of us is an utterly foreign, inscrutable, and in many ways terrifying environment (Morin, 1983; Kaufman, 1984).

Conclusions

The job of the schools was to find the means to reach across this gap and provide access to the larger society. The current state of the Hmong demonstrates that the schools have failed in this assigned mission. The schools did not even attempt to shore up the Hmong people's most important asset, which was the traditional Hmong culture. The attempt to provide a substitute culture, which would permit the Hmong to function in a society radically different from that which they had known before, robbed the Hmong of a home base. The Hmong needed an environment which had familiar and friendly features to permit them to relax and to prepare themselves for the next day's toil of adjustment. The Refugee Act of 1980 and its attempts to reshape the Hmong overnight so rapidly virtually assured their failure. Given their outlook, quite understandable in view of the history of immigrants, educators would have regarded as self-defeating any attempt to provide classes in Hmong, or otherwise to encourage Hmong directed learning. In fact, it would have been a powerful force for adjustment (Jacobs, 1987).

The schools failed to keep the Hmong adults enrolled. It is essential to lay the blame for this failure on the schools rather than on the Hmong. Given their level of distress, they would have made good use of means for improving their lot, if these had been really accessible and ethnically appropriate. Too often the curriculum they encountered was not at all suitable for illiterates, and certainly did not take into account the enormous cultural gap which was the Hmong's primary reality in this country. The schools were insensitive to the Hmong's poverty and consequential lack of choices. For example, the Hmong had no way to arrange for child care during the day. Because of the policy of dispersal, they could not pool their efforts. Their unfamiliarity with the language and with American customs coupled with their lack of financial resources, precluded their finding child

care. The result was that women with small children attended fewer classes (Downing, Bruce and Olney, 1982).

While the schools were supposed to be preparing the Hmong for entry into the U.S. labor market, they were content to provide but a few links in what needed to be a long chain of preparatory events. The Hmong were not provided with that most basic asset, a sense of job or career they might want or aspire to. When the Hmong arrived in this country, they had no idea what sorts of jobs people had, let along which were feasible or most desirable or what had to be done by way of preparation.

The Hmong, more than other immigrants, required of the authorities an informed, comprehensive understanding of their needs and a sensitive, tolerant, and understanding response from the schools. They did not receive this and continue to endure isolation and deprivation as a result.

A better educational policy for refugees and other immigrants would require that authorities embrace a pluralistic vision of the U.S. society. Many educational policymakers are aware of this, but they continue to place into effect contrary policies. Ethnicity provides a cultural base for people of varied backgrounds and capacities, and there is little that could compensate for its loss.

Any number of specific policies follow in the wake of such a reorientation. The schools could train staff to "see" the local community through the eyes of the immigrant (Goldstein, 1987). Data-collection revealing the problems which immigrants face in their efforts to obtain jobs and job training make it possible to design educational programs that respond to the immigrant's actual needs. Similarly, educational authorities could adopt measures to encourage the development of institutions within the budding ethnic community.

Ironically, the federal government is, at the time of this writing, attempting to reverse some of its refugee policies and so repair some of the damage done. It is supporting the formation of "Mutual Assistance Associations" of and for Hmong who have, in defiance of government dispersal programs, clustered together. These MAAs are designed to help the Hmong provide for themselves what the government was unable to accomplish.

The schools are not social service agencies, and it is neither fair nor constructive to blame the schools for all the troubles of any group in need. It

is clear, nevertheless, that many of the most important problems faced by the Hmong refugees were created or left unsolved because of insensitivities inherent in the acculturation and assimilation goals of the public schools. In light of the experience of many generations of earlier immigrants, what has happened to the Hmong was perhaps predictable. It is also tragic, demonstrating that we have learned little from our mistakes of the past.

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